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IN THIS ISSUE

THE REBUILDING OF TORONTO AFTER THE GREAT FIRE OF 1849
BY F. H. ARMSTRONG

AN EARLY SETTLEMENT ON ST. JOSEPH ISLAND
INTRODUCTION BY FRED C. HAMIL

JAMES WALLIS, FOUNDER OF FENELON FALLS AND PIONEER IN THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF PETERBOROUGH
BY HUGH M. WALLIS

THE CHELSEA PENSIONERS IN UPPER CANADA
BY J. K. JOHNSON

BOOK NOTES

NEWS AND REPORTS

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Contents

Page

The Rebuilding of Toronto after the Great Fire of 1849
By F. H. Armstrong 233

An Early Settlement on St. Joseph Island
Introduction by Fred C. Hamil 251

James Wallis, Founder of Fenelon Falls and Pioneer in the Early Development of Peterborough
By Hugh M. Wallis 257

The Chelsea Pensioners in Upper Canada
By J. K. Johnson 273

Book Notes 289

News and Reports 249, 250, 256, 271-2, 299-300

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THE REBUILDING OF TORONTO AFTER THE GREAT FIRE OF 1849

By F. H. Armstrong

The First Great Fire of Toronto in 1849 left some ten to fifteen acres in the heart of the main business district in ruins, as well as destroying the main city market and St. James' Cathedral. The subsequent reconstruction—most of which took place in 1849, although the restored St. James' Cathedral was not completed until 1875—was the most important single alteration in the city's face in the nineteenth century, and the new cathedral and market provided Toronto with what are still two of her most outstanding buildings.

The immediate question after any fire, in 1849 as today, is the insurance settlement. Fortunately for Toronto the fire did not reach a scale where it bankrupted any of the insurance companies involved, as was an all too frequent happening at that period. From 1845 to 1871 about three-quarters of the United States insurance companies were put out of business by conflagrations,[1] and the Chicago Fire of 1871 alone bankrupted fourteen local companies, and forced the suspension of payments by some 37 other companies with head offices outside the state.[2] Local insurance companic—that is those operating mainly in one city—were particularly subject to such large fires as they lacked a "spread of risk". All their liabilities tended to be grouped in their home town, and when it burned, their premium income was insufficient to cover the losses incurred, as too little premium income was available from other areas to help in covering the payment of settlements.

Two local companies operated in Toronto at the time of the fire, the Home District Mutual, and the British American Assurance Company. Both fortunately survived the fire, although possibly with difficulties, as the first laid assessments on its policyholders of 12½% of their provisional premium on April 7, and a further 2½% on April 20; while the latter ordered its shareholders to come forward with an installment on their capital stock payable at 5% before June 18, and 5% before August 6.

The Home District Mutual Fire Insurance Company, to give it its full title, had its offices on Nelson (Jarvis) Street and had been in operation since 1837. Its Secretary-Treasurer, John Rains, had been careful not to accept too great an insurance liability in the central area so that the company's loss was only £4,000 or £5,000. The other office, the British American Company, had been incorporated in 1833 by 52 prominent citizens including Bishop Strachan, John Rolph, H. J. Boulton, and John Elmsley, and at the time of the fire had William Allan for Governor, and

1. Insurance Institute of Montreal, *General Insurance* (Montreal, n.d.), 6.
2. Shehan, J. W. & Upton, G. P. *The Great Conflagration, Chicago: Its Past, Present, and Future* (Chicago, 1871), 30-33.

T. W. Birtchall for Managing-Director. This company was very heavily exposed in the area of the fire and suffered a loss of over £17,000—more than double the amount paid by any other company.

Besides these companies which dealt directly with the public there were other companies with head offices outside the province which were usually represented by local merchants who operated as their agents in much the modern manner. These representatives were given the authority to accept risks and write policies, but they were usually regulated to an extent by the underwriting instructions of their various principals, and the rates in their companies' manuals. The actual number of these companies operating in the city varied considerably from time to time, and there were many changes in the agents representing their offices. The ten outside companies sustaining losses in the fire, together with their representatives at the time, were as follows:

A. English Companies—

Alliance of London—Agent, John Ridout.
Globe of London—Agent, J. W. Brant.
Phoenix of London—Agent, Moffat, Murray & Co.

B. Quebec Companies—

Montreal Fire Life & Inland Marine Assurance—Agent, Robert Beekman.
Quebec Fire Assurance—Agent, William Creelman.

C. American Companies—

Aetna Fire Insurance of Hartford, Conn.
Hartford Fire Insurance of Hartford, Conn.
Protection Fire Insurance of Hartford, Conn.
} Agent, Whittmore, Rutherford & Co.

Camden Insurance—Agent, none at the time.
Columbus Fire & Marine Insurance of Columbus, Ohio—Agent, E. G. O'Brien.

All these were evidently able to meet their losses without trouble.

It is not possible to prepare an exact table of the losses, as none of the Toronto papers agree completely on the amounts. Their figures are as follows, in pounds:

Insurance Company	Examiner April 11	Globe April 12	Christian Guardian April 11
Aetna of Hartford	3,600	3,600	3,600
Alliance of London	8,150	8,150	8,000
British America	17,000	17,000	20,000
Camden	400	400	400
Columbus	5,307	5,310	5,300
Globe of London	2,050	2,050	2,025
Hartford Fire	3,900	3,900	3,900
Home District Mutual	5,000	4,575	4,500
Montreal Assurance	4,124	2,500	2,500
Phoenix of London	5,850	4,400	5,000

Protection of Hartford	1,300	1,350	1,350
Quebec Fire	2,900	2,950	3,000
Totals	59,581	56,185	59,575

These figures should of course represent the face values of the insurance policies, not the adjusted loss, and those for the *Examiner* do not include the damage to the stores on the south side of King Street—although this can not have been large enough to make much difference to the totals. In most of the cases the loss was total, and as insurance was not carried to value by the majority of the sufferers the overall direct damage loss was likely far greater than the amount of the policies. The *Examiner* suggested a grand loss from the fire of at least £100,000, and stated that some estimates went as high as £300,000, which would appear to be excessive. Smith in his *Fire Waste in Canada* (1917) estimated a total of $500,000.[3] Unlike present-day adjustments the above would not, of course, include claims for business interruption or for loss of rental income, and a comparable modern figure might run as high as $2,000,000 or $2,500,000. At the time of the fire beef could be purchased for 2½d to 4d per pound and house rent ran from £25 to £50 per annum,[4] so the £60,000 insurance coverage was in itself a vast amount.

An insight into the method of adjusting insurance claims on buildings at the period is given by the "Office Journal" of John Howard,[5] who was a leading surveyor and architect at the time, but who is mainly remembered today for having presented High Park to the city. This Journal contains brief outlines of his many activities which included several of the adjustments after the fire. Both the company and the insured party appointed surveyors, and these men independently examined and measured the ruins and arrived at an evaluation. If their figures did not agree—and disagreement appears to have been very frequent—an umpire was appointed who examined both their statements and made a decision which was usually accepted by both the assured and the company. The following excerpt is a good example of how this method operated:

> April 18th. Wed. . . . at one to meet Mr. Cumberland to measure Mr. Beaty's house to ascertain the amount to be paid by the Hartford Insurance Office Mr. Cumberland acting for them I for Mr. Beatty [*sic*]. April 19th. Thurs.—Morning at Mr. Beaty's measurement 2 hours Mr. C. had not made his half so much then to Mr. Thomas about the church matter put all the papers concerning Mr. Beaty's valuation into Mr. Thomas hands to act as umpire back at three.

The principal surveyors in the city at the time were William Thomas, John and Kivas Tully, Frederic W. Cumberland, and Howard; and the fee for an adjustment seems to have been £2/10/- per case, regardless of

3. Smith, J. G. *Fire Waste in Canada* (Ottawa, Commission of Conservation, Canada, 1918), 278.
4. [Darling, W. S.], *Sketches of Canadian Life* (London, 1849), 296-8.
5. The Howard Mss. are in the Reference Division of the Toronto Public Library.

whether the individual was an original surveyor or umpire. Adjustments on contents or furniture losses were probably made by the insured submitting a list of the destroyed articles to the company or its agent.

Settlement of the claims must have been quite prompt as most of the commercial reconstruction was completed by early autumn, and this must have depended on the insurance moneys in many cases. The settlement of the city claim—involving the British America Company—was approved in early June; and the out-of-town companies would hardly have been able to retain their business if they had been much slower in their payments. The efficiency of their system in Toronto is attested by the following notice which appeared in the *Globe* on July 5:

A CARD

To Messrs. Whittmore, Rutherford & Co., Toronto.

GENTLEMEN—We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the full amount of our claim on the Aetna, Protection, and Hartford Fire Insurance Companies, for the loss by fire on the 7th April last, and to thank you and the Directors of the several Offices, for this satisfactory settlement.

We are Gentlemen,
Your very obedient servants,

Toronto, July 4 1849. HAYES BROTHERS

With or without insurance payments the businesses burned out in the fire showed remarkable speed and energy in reopening their doors. For those who were only tenants, especially where a fair amount of stock had been saved, this was a fairly easy matter. Some of those who owned their own building reopened their stores at temporary locations until their buildings could be rebuilt, while others—such as Nasmith's Bakery, and Platt's Tavern—evidently waited until their building were reconstructed.

The first business to resume operations was the printing office of Rowsell & Thompson who were able to publish an edition of the *Patriot* on April 9 as they were fortunate enough to take over the premises and equipment of the recently defunct *Herald* at 36½ Yonge St. The firm apparently was able immediately to resume full printing operations in all divisions, although it was a month or two before the paper could be printed in as large a format as previous to the fire.

The other paper burned out by the fire, the *Toronto Mirror*, was not so lucky; for not only were its premises completely wiped out, but the proprietor also had severely injured his leg leaping from the roof of a house where he was trapped while helping in the rescue operations. In spite of his injuries by April 13 he was able to prepare a rather pathetic circular which was printed in the *Canadian Free Press* in London on April 24. This notice, which was chiefly a request for overdue subscriptions, stated in part:

> Fire is a fell destroyer; but *a bad paying* subscription list is yet worse. We can insure against fire; but no office will undertake to protect us against the losses to which we are subjected by *negligent* or *dishonest* subscribers.

> . . . We have every confidence in the generosity and honourable spirit of our subscribers. If *they* fail to help us in this hour of trial then we shall think ourselves truly unfortunate.

Evidently the delinquent subscribers responded nobly, for by May 11 the paper was able to resume operations at the south-east corner of King and Nelson Streets over the store of William Henderson. The pathos of their circular had now been succeeded by a happy bumptiousness:

> Alive again, and Kicking.
>
> . . . nothing promotes improvement so certainly as a fire . . . The suspension of the *Mirror* was felt by all its readers, as well as by the entire *newspaper* press of Canada, to be the severest visitation which has befallen the *fourth estate* for, probably a quarter of a century. From every quarter we received the most flattering testimonials to the highest character, and superior virtues, of the defunct, together with the most earnest expression of solicitude for an early exhumation.
>
> . . . We trust to be able soon to manifest our gratitude, in our well known old style:—that is, by cudgeling everyone who dares to stand in our sunshine, or in any way to interrupt the even tenor of our reflections.
>
> . . . We can not however overlook the circumstances of the burning of the Parliament House so soon after the destruction of our office.[6] Great events seldom come single. We felt convinced something would go wrong in our absence.

The *Mirror* also promised to cancel the subscriptions of the remaining delinquent subscribers, and "then take other steps".

Meanwhile the papers were beginning to carry announcements of the reopenings of many of the burnt-out stores—some of which were only at temporary locations until their own buildings could be reconstructed. Between April 9 and April 18 notices appeared for Thomas Thompson's Mammoth House, Geo. H. Cheney & Co., Water MacFarlane, Hayes Brothers, and Carey & Brown. These were followed by R. C. Gwatkin on May 25 and finally W. Rolph's Black Horse Inn on June 1. All these announcements were very simple notices except that of Mammoth House whose proprietor appears to have been something of a nineteenth-century 'discount' merchant. His notice—which was conspicuously the first from any of the stores—appeared prominently on the front page of all the papers. After stating the new address it proceeded,

> *Thomas Thompson*, would briefly like to state that he was rapidly recovering from the destructive fire of March, 1848, when he was again a sufferer in the calamitous one, of the 7th April, when the hard earned savings of nineteen years was in a few hours levelled to the ground. His motto, however, is "NIL DESPERANDUM" ! ! ! and from the sympathy manifested by the community in general he is induced once more to try again with the satisfaction that he is able to pay EVERY YORKER! and if the same patronage be ex-

6. The reference, of course, is to the wanton destruction by fire of the Parliament House of the united Province of Canada on April 22, 1849, during the course of the Montreal riots following the enactment of the Rebellion Losses Bill.

tended to him as has during the past 12 months, he hopes to see the Mammoth House, like the fabled Phoenix rise from its ashes, and again rear its majestic form and be as HERETOFORE. "The emporium for Cheap and Fashionable Goods."

In the meantime he will commence SELLING OFF his immense Stock, which with the Spring Arrivals, daily expected, will be as complete as any in the City.

The damaged part of the Stock will be sold off at a GREAT SACRIFICE.

Toronto April 9th. 1849.

By August 13 a large part of the reconstruction must have been completed for on that date a group of merchants located on the north side of King Street and the east side of Nelson Street petitioned the City Council for the restoration of the wooden sidewalk in front of their stores which had also burned in the fire. The signatures—Foy & Austin, John Mead & Co., Carey & Brown, George Brooke, George Harris, and William Henderson Co.—indicate the return of a high percentage of the former businesses, as all except George Harris had been burned out in the fire. Then on September 17 another group of merchants, including Thomas Thompson, and Sabine & Hughes, sent the Council another petition for the restoration of the sidewalk opposite the market. Their position was even more desperate than the first group since the sidewalk on the south side of the street also was unusable due to the construction operations for the new market. The Board of Works did not approve these petitions until September 24, when it finally recommended that £200 be allocated to replace all fire-destroyed sidewalks in the city. This recommendation was not passed by the City Council until October 29, and with the autumn mud growing deeper by the day, it is to be hoped that new sidewalks were constructed before inaccessibility bankrupted any of the survivors of the fire.

The City Council too had been busy with insurance settlements and reconstruction. The most immediate problem facing this body after the fire was the replacement of the fire bell which had been destroyed when the cathedral burned. In this the Council was greatly assisted by Thomas D. Harris who wrote on April 13 offering to supply a new bell at manufacturer's prices (1/9d per pound) and until a satisfactory bell could be obtained to lend them the largest he had available in stock which weighed 397 pounds. This, he suggested, could be erected on a platform in the churchyard for the interim. After ascertaining that there was no insurance on the old bell the city agreed to accept his offer but voted to spend £25 to erect the temporary bell on the Court House.

Harris, who keeps turning up in every account of the fire, was one of the leading citizens of the period. Born in 1803 he had fought as a Loyalist in 1837, and later served the city as Fire Chief from 1838 to 1841. He was also a prominent member of St. James' where he was Rector's Warden from 1841 to 1864, in which capacity he was responsible for lay-

ing out St. James' Cemetery in 1845 and the erection of the cemetery chapel in 1861. For some years before his death in 1873 he was the Toronto Harbour Master.

At the same time the Council was busy with the insurance settlement on the market, and with the necessary preparations for its reconstruction. With regard to the settlement Howard reported in his Journal:

> Apr. 10, Tu . . . then with Mr. Gooderham to the Chamberlain's office heard that he had sent me a notice to meet Mr. Cumberland on the part of the Assurance office to value the damage to the Old City Hall I am to be on the part of the city, saw Mr. Cumberland . . .

Two days later he reported that the measuring of the ruins for estimating the damage had begun, and finally, a fortnight later, wrote:

> Apr. 25 W . . . back at 11 [.] had lunch and at ½ past . went to measure with Mr. Cumberland at the Old City Hall till 4 . . .
> Apr. 26 Th . . . saw Mr. Cumberland, went to the British American Assurance office at 12 with him till ½ past 5....

Despite the length of this meeting no agreement was reached, and on May 21 the Committee of Finance and Assessment, under the Chairmanship of C. A. Ridout, reported to the City Council that there was a difference of £235/11/9 between Howard's estimate of £1370/6/8 and Cumberland's of £1134/14/11.

The Committee suggested that either the papers be submitted to an umpire, with the prior agreement that his judgment was not to be higher than Howard's estimate, nor lower than Cumberland's; or alternatively that if the insuring company was agreeable they simply split the difference between the two figures.[7] The second suggestion was eventually adopted and on July 4 a sum of £1252/10/- was duly deposited at the Bank of Upper Canada in full settlement.

At the same May 21 meeting the Finance and Assessment Committee also recommended the offering of leases for the proposed new market which the City Council was planning to build after the plans of Mr. Thomas. These leases were to be for four store areas, which were to have a 25-foot frontage on King Street and be 75 feet deep, situated two on either side of the main entrance from King Street. Behind them there was to be a 15-foot lane which was not to be built upon. This is essentially the plan of the present St. Lawrence Market, but at that stage there was still no intention of demolishing the unburnt southern portion of the old market building, which presumably would have been connected with this new section had the plans not been changed. After examining the matter the City Council duly authorized the leasing of these lots by public auction.

On June 22 the same Committee submitted another report suggesting the adoption of the architect's entire plan, including the line of shops. Presumably there had now been a change of opinion and the Committee had decided to demolish the remaining part of the old market and to

7. Ontario Archives, Toronto City Council Papers.

build the line of shops which ran south from the surviving part of the St. Lawrence Hall on King Street to Front Street. These shops were demolished in their turn in 1904 to make way for the present market. The construction cost for the entire project was estimated at £3,957 plus £543 for a bell, clock, etc., and it was suggested that this be financed by issuing 21-year debentures to a value of £4000 to supplement the residue of the insurance money. The rent from the new building was to be £350 per annum. The City Council held a special meeting to consider this report and by a vote of 11 to 0 resolved "that this Council have adopted a Report to the effect that the Centre Building shall be erected simultaneously with the other Buildings and in accordance with the plan and design of Mr. Thomas Architect as appointed by this Council in the year 1845."[8]

The reason for Thomas's appointment was that in 1844 when the new City Hall had been under construction a "Select Committee on the Proposed New Front of the Old Market Buildings" had been constituted to e;xamine the possibilities of refacing the King Street facade of the Old City Hall cum Market. On January 27 1845 this Committee had submitted the following self-explanatory report:

> The Select Committee appointed to advertise for and receive plans, specifications and estimates for the proposed New Front to the Old Market Building beg leave to report that on the day appointed plans so [*sic*] were received from the following gentlemen
> viz Wm. Thomas Esq.
> Thos. Young Esq.
> Henry B. Lane Esq.
> and K. Tully Esq.
>
> That subsequently the plans of Mr. Young were withdrawn by that gentleman.
>
> That after the most careful examination and comparison of the merits of the several plans your Committee have unanimously agreed in recommending to Your Worshipful Council that the first premium be awarded to Mr. Thomas and the second to Mr. Lane.
>
> All of which is respectively submitted.
>
> James Trotter Geo. Gurnett, Chairman
> Robert N. Beard John Craig.

No further action had been taken at that time, probably because the city was unable to find the funds after paying for the new City Hall; but when the fire made reconstruction necessary Thomas was automatically called in as architect.

William Thomas (1800-1860) was one of the leading architects in the city for many years. A specialist in church architecture he designed at least eight churches in Toronto, all of which have been demolished except St. Michael's Cathedral (1845-48). This, however, has been completely changed in appearance by the addition of the windows along the sides of the roof, and consequently St. Paul's Presbyterian in Hamilton (1857) is a better example of his work in the field of ecclesiastical arch-

8. Minutes of the City Council, June 22, 1849.

ST. JAMES' CATHEDRAL ca. 1866

View from Church St., showing new section of tower added for bells in 1865 (white). Note lack of transept and pinnacles.

Toronto Public Libraries - T. A. Reed Coll.

ST. LAWRENCE MARKET

View from south-east showing demolished Front St. section which was used for butcher shops. Spire of St. James in the background.
—Toronto Public Libraries—John Ross Robertson Coll.

itecture. Two other excellent examples of Thomas's building are still standing in Toronto, the former Commercial Bank of Canada (1845) at 15 Wellington Street West, and his last work, the centre section of the Don Jail (1858-65). Like other architects he was also a surveyor and engineer, and when Howard went to England in 1853 Thomas took his place as City Engineer.

The remaining part of the old market building was now demolished, and on August 16 the Clerk of the City Council, Charles Daly, advertised for tenders for the construction of the new building which were to be submitted by September 1. As the lowest tender received was for £5125—that is £125 in excess of the estimate—the City Council was forced to increase the amount of the debenture issue to £4500. Construction proceeded slowly and on January 14, 1850, the Standing Committee on the Affairs of the Market Block recommended several basic changes in the plan which were suggested by Thomas partly with the idea of strengthening the upper part of the building. The result was an "I" shaped structure with a long corridor which connected transverse sections along King and Front Streets. (see illustration). The extra cost of this change—£137/10/—was approved by the Council who at the same time agreed to the Committee's further recommendation to name the edifice the St. Lawrence Buildings. Completion of the structure took a considerable amount of time, and it was not ready for occupancy until April 1851.

The northern section with its facade based on a temple of Jupiter Stator and its circular bell cupola with Corinthian columns, remains, even today, one of the most beautiful buildings in the city, and it still contains—although in dilapitated condition—the hall which served as the social centre of the city for the next twenty years. This room, which is 100 feet long, by 38 feet, 6 inches wide by 34 feet high and seated up to 1,000 people, witnessed such events as the first Toronto performance of the Messiah in 1857, concerts by Jenny Lind and Adeline Patti, and speeches by Sir John A. Macdonald, George Brown, and Horace Greeley. The part of the building demolished in 1904 was much less ornate in design. The corridor or arcade running from north to south, which was 200 feet long by 20 feet wide, was lined by fruit and fancy goods shops at the north end, and by butcher shops at the south, while the transverse section along Front Street contained more butcher shops.

The last building to be rebuilt was St. James' Cathedral where reconstruction was delayed by a lack of funds that inspired a controversy over the type of structure that was required. The residue remaining from the insurance money after the payment of all bills—some £5000—technically belonged to the parish, not the diocese, and although it was quite adequate for the construction of a parish church it was nowhere near the sum required to construct a new cathedral. Some members of the congregation accordingly suggested that they merely build a parish church, using the walls of the burnt building if possible. One advocate

of this plan, whose letter appeared in the *Church* on April 12, suggested that a satisfactory parish church, seating 800 to 1,000, could be built for £4000 and the remainder of the money could be used to provide seats for the poor. The leaders of this faction in the congregation were Alexander Dixon, and the Vestry Clerk, William Wakefield.

Since such a solution would mean that there would be no cathedral or building large enough to use for a cathedral for an indefinite number of years, this proposal was naturally opposed by a second section of the congregation led by C. Gamble, Colonel Allan, G. P. Ridout, and Dean H. J. Grassett. Their plan was to lease the southern part of the churchyard, along King Street in order to secure the funds for a larger building which would be built on the north part of the cathedral property along Adelaide Street.

At the Vestry Meeting of April 19 a committee including Chief Justice Robinson, George P. Ridout, Charles Berczy, William Wakefield, and John Howard, was instituted to enquire into the various aspects of the problem. The Vestry Meeting of May 19, to which its report was delivered, decided on the more ambitious project, and since only £5375 of the required £10,000 was available the meeting also decided in favour of leasing the southern part of the churchyard. Other resolutions were passed for the reburial of those interred in that part of the churchyard, and for making application to the provincial Legislature for an act enabling the church to lease the ground. This was necessary because the land had been set aside exclusively for the purposes of a church and graveyard by Peter Russell when he was administrator of the province in 1797. Finally the meeting authorized the committee to advertise for plans for the new church as soon as it was known how much money was available, and agreed to offer the successful architect a premium of £100, provided he was not retained to supervise the construction.[9]

The Legislature accordingly passed the desired act (12 Victoria, Cap. 105) which received Royal Assent on May 30. The following day Howard noted in his diary that he had prepared the advertisement for the plans of the new church, and this appeared in the *Church* of June 21, as follows:

TO ARCHITECTS

THE CHURCHWARDENS AND VESTRY OF ST. JAMES PARISH IN TORONTO are desirous of receiving PLANS, SPECIFICATIONS, and ESTIMATES for a new church in the GOTHIC STYLE to replace that destroyed by the late fire. The former church was 149 feet long by 80 feet wide, and was capable of accommodating 1800 persons, without including the Aisles, it contained 278 pews, and the intention of the Vestry is, that the NEW CHURCH shall not be on a less scale, and that it shall afford the means of restoring as many pews.

The materials to be white brick, with Cut Stone dressing, cost not to exceed Ten Thousand Pounds.

9. Minute Book of St. James Cathedral, Vestry Minutes 1842-1907, 20-21.

Exclusive of TOWER and SPIRE which should be of *cut stone* and sufficient to bear a full Peal of Bells.

Printed instructions can be obtained in application to THOS. D. HARRIS, ESQ or LEWIS MOFFAT, ESQ *Churchwardens,* Toronto & at the Office of this Paper. The Plans etc., must be sent to the Churchwardens on or before the

14th August next.

The successful Candidate to receive £75, provided that he is not afterwards employed to superintend the Building. The second best to receive £50. The third £25.

The following papers will insert one month and send their Accounts to the Churchwardens. *Montreal Evening Courrier, New York Albion, and New York Spectator.*

The opposition to the leasing of the land, was, meanwhile, growing in strength as is evidenced by the increasing number of letters to the newspapers. One appearing in the *Church* on June 29 over the pseudonym of "LEGION" stated that the rector and wardens

> . . . have obtained from our "liberal" and church robbing Provincial Parliament an act rendering it legal for them, in face of the act of consecration, to lease for secular and profane purposes, a portion of such grounds . . . it behoves every sincere Churchman . . . to lift up his voice and beseech them to pause in their unholy career, ere it be too late; to keep their hands from the "land of the Lord", lest, in judgment the days of the "Commonwealth of England" be sent upon our country when men professing godliness, scrupled not to feed their horses from the holy tables and to water them at the fonts.

On August 16 another, more intelligent letter pointed out that since the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge had given a donation of £1000 for the rebuilding of the church, and that as a similar donation might well be expected from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the leasing of the land might not be necessary.

Meanwhile the deadline for the submission of plans had been extended to September 1, and a committee composed of the three local architects who had not submitted plans—Howard, Johnstone, and Young—had been nominated to judge the entries. By September 13 the editor of the *Church* had become impatient at the amount of time the Committee was taking in judging the plans and devoted a large part of the editorial page to the subject. He began by stating that there was still confusion as to whether or not the new building should be a cathedral, and then added that if it was to be one,

> It is not to be presumed of course, that in a Protestant Catholic Church we want the long ranges of space unprovided with seats, for the various processions & pageants of our erring sister of Rome, and we should be the very last to advocate a needless expenditure of money on such an object. But still we nevertheless would contend that the massive dignity which we so much desire to see, should be primarily kept in view in the erection of an Anglican Cathedral.

Then after mentioning rumours of favouritism, he proceeded to present an analysis of some of the plans received; which, as these were still under

consideration, and the paper was the official organ of the Anglican Church, was certainly a questionable procedure and one which could possibly have prejudiced the issue. However, as none of the plans survive, and even the winning design was completely revised, his comments are worth examination for the light they throw on the architectural taste of the period.

He began his analysis with the plan of William Thomas which was, he said, like several others submitted, characterized by a redundancy of roof occasioned by the absence of a clerestory, and unworthy of a cathedral. To give Thomas his due, his works—such as St. Michael's Cathedral—were often very impressive without a clerestory, and in this case he had deliberately designed a church without one in order to utilize the walls of the old church, which also, had lacked one. Here the *Church's* comments are reflecting the views of the group which wished to demolish the old walls and lease that part of the land, and aside from architectural differences would hardly want to adopt a plan involving restoration.

The editor next moved to the design of Frank Willis, architect of Christ Church Cathedral (Anglican), at Fredericton, New Brunswick. This sketch he regarded as coldly correct, and added that the architect's error was to have a row of lights in the clerestory at points where they would interfere with the flying buttresses should these be carried upwards. He then said that the spire was a mere copy of the plan for Fredericton, and finished with the comment that

> In short Mr. Willis design, might, with the exception of the anomoly which we have mentioned make a very good one, for a country Parish Church situated close to some rugged shore of the mother country, near to the rocks and waves, and sea-weed; but it certainly does not in our humble judgment, at all idealize the great in architecture, in a manner to make a fit model for the metropolitan church of Western Canada.

His complaint about the fenestration seems rather fantastic. If the architect had no intention of using flying buttresses (and presumably he knew whether they would be necessary or not) there was no reason to align the clerestory windows with the lower buttresses. Christ Church Cathedral at Fredericton (completed 1853)—which is partly a copy of the church at Snettisham, Norfolk—had the same type of window arrangement as Willis proposed for St. James, and it is an extremely striking building.

As for Smith of Montreal, the editor decided that he had more majesty, but had made the mistake of bringing the roof of the transepts down to the level of that of the side aisles, and that his interior roofing junctions appeared to be wrong. The idea of having lower transept roofs is certainly unusual but it had been used in certain English parish churches and there are one or two examples in Somerset.

The specifications of Wheeler of Hartford, Connecticut, received greater approval because they included a turreted west front, which the editor regarded as beautiful, although he felt that the proposed triple

row of lights along the sides would make it look like a three-decker. This design, together with that of Cumberland, which was noted for having a tower on one side only—evidently an innovation in the editor's eyes—were the ones which were praised most highly, and in the end the *Church* awarded the latter the prize.

At the end of the editorial is a postcript stating that after it was written the judges had announced that Cumberland was the winner, with a Mr. Ortelo second, and Kivas Tully third. This decision was evidently none too popular, many people evidently preferring the design of Thomas —although probably from factional rather than architectural reasons— for in the next issue of the *Church* on September 20 the editor stated that Cumberland's plans had merely won the contest, and would not necessarily be used for the actual construction, although he felt that they should be. He then continued, returning to Thomas' plan, that

> . . . his supporters on the present occasion are only exhibiting their ignorance of the true principles of taste in architecture. We cordially believe Mr. Thomas capable of much that is admirable in his profession, but he must lay aside his taste for disproportionately heavy roofs if he would achieve anything truly great in itself, and consequently pleasing to a refined taste.

This was aimed at Wakefield and his group who now took action themselves and, in preparation for the Vestry Meeting of December 14, had Thomas check to see whether the old walls were usable, and were accordingly advised that they were sound up to the springing of the arches, and that part of the old tower also could be utilized. Thomas further suggested that the old walls be encased in white brickwork, and buttresses be added to tie in this casing, as well as other structural changes.

When the Vestry met the controversy had reached such a pitch that it was forced to adjourn until Robert Baldwin, the Attorney-General, could determine the qualifications for voting, and when the meeting reassembled at Thomas D. Harris' reconstructed store on December 21 the proceedings were stormy.[10] The first motion, that heavy debts should be avoided was agreed to by both sides. Then the pro-cathedral group managed to pass a motion, by a majority of five, that the building should be rebuilt as a cathedral, not a parish church. This party, which could be regarded as representing the "official" opinion of the church, then brought in a further resolution—moved by Jarvis, seconded by Gamble—that the only moneys to be used in the restoration should be firstly, the £1000 sterling at the bishop's disposal; secondly, the net insurance money after debts; and thirdly, the money obtained from ground rents. Alexander Dixon promptly proposed an amendment which would have led to heavy payments by the pew holders, and included stipulations that " . . . no part or portion of the land belonging to the church or burying grounds of St.

10. Ibid, 25ff.

James' be leased for any purposes whatever, and that the resolution passed by the Vestry on the 19th. May last authorizing or sanctioning the leasing . . . be rescinded." The vote on the amendment was a 23 to 23 tie, the Rector, Dean H. Grasett, accordingly was forced to vote, and voted against it. The motion itself was then voted and again resulted in a 23 to 23 tie. This time the rector voted yes. Judging from the larger number of votes cast on some of the other motions it would appear that some of the members preferred to abstain on this controversial question. Next Messrs. W. P. Jarvis and G. P. Ridout moved that the original plans of F. W. Cumberland be adopted provided the cost was under £15,000. Wakefield promptly responded with an amendment to the effect that only a parish church was required (an issue which would appear to have been determined by the voting on the second resolution) and that the same should be erected on the walls of the old church to the specifications of Mr. Thomas, his being the only plan that could be used. This was defeated and the original motion carried by 39 to 23.

A building committee representing both sides was then agreed upon. This consisted of Harris the Rector's Warden; Joseph D. Ridout; Alexander Dixon; Joseph Browne; and J. L. Preston. Finally the official party carried a motion that a 42-year lease at £3 per foot frontage per annum be granted for a strip of land stretching 238 feet along King Street east from Church Street to the stores at the end of the church property. After some further routine business the meeting adjourned with the official group evidently the victors.

By this time the citizenry of Toronto was taking an interest in the controversy and on February 23, 1850, a public meeting of protest was held at the City Hall and a resolution passed against leasing the land. As a result the Vestry met again on March 9 and the Honourable H. T. Sherwood moved that the proposal to lease the land with the consequent disturbing of graves be dropped in view of the opposition both of the public and many church members. The meeting was unable to reach any agreement on this change of front and adjourned for two weeks to examine ways and means of raising funds to cover the cost of construction without alienating the land. At the ensuing series of meetings which were held from March 23 to July 1, 1850, the tide had turned and the opposition was generally in command. Sherwood's motion was duly passed by a vote of 35 to 20, and the proposed location of the new church was moved back to the old foundations. Then at the instigation of Joseph D. Ridout and Alexander Dixon the Vestry voted that " . . . all resolutions passed at former Vestries authorizing the leasing of the land forming the Church-yard on King Street be and they are hereby rescinded".[11] and it was further agreed that the means of restoration be

11. Ibid, 33.

Cash on hand	£5000
An assessment of ½ of their original upset value for restoring the pews	1678
Sale of new pews	1140
Value of the foundations	937
Subscription guaranteed if land not let	1263
Total	10,018

Cumberland was confirmed as architect of the church and was asked to submit a new plan for a building on the old site. On June 1 he reported that such a structure, less the spire and half the tower, would cost £16,500 exclusive of the value of the old materials. In view of the fact that only £10,000 was available he alternatively suggested that a "usable" church could be built for £11,463/7/6. By this plan the tower would only be built to the rooftop and the transepts and pinnacles would be left until later. (see illustration). This less ambitious project was approved, as was a further motion by Wakefield and Dixon that the church be built on the centre of the land. This would mean additional costs since the old foundations—which were close to Church Street—could not be used, and also that some of the graves would have to be disturbed; but its authors felt that this step would permanently insure against the revival of any suggestions for leasing any part of the property. The decision as to whether the church should face east-west or north-south was left to the building committee. Thus, finally by July 1, 1850, nearly fifteen months after the fire, the way was cleared for reconstruction to begin.

Unfortunately we do not have Bishop Strachan's letters for the period, but his attitude would have probably been the same as that of Dean Grasett who wrote to him in England, where the bishop was raising funds for Trinity College, on September 6:

> . . . We have at length made a beginning with the church, the excavations are fairly completed and they will begin to lay the stone of the foundations in a few days. Nothing would satisfy Mr. Wakefield & his party but moving the site to the centre of the ground on the front midway between O'Neills block and the corner of Church St., This involves some extra expense as the foundations must be entirely new. They imagined that by insisting upon this, they wd effectively prevent any leasing of building lots at any future time. The design is universally admitted to be a very beautiful one—but to complete it up to the line of the tower only will cost about £16,000. An expenditure of about 11 or 12,000 will enable us to prepare it for use & restore the congregation to their seats. I have still some differences with the building committee Mr. Dixon as usual heaping all the obstacles he can in our way. I fear we shall never have peace until we get rid of him.[12]

The letter also shows that work was not proceeding very rapidly, but finally on Wednesday, November 20, 1850, Bishop Strachan, now re-

12. Ontario Archives, Strachan Papers, Microfilm Reel Number 6.

turned, was able to lay the corner stone after preaching an appropriate sermon at Holy Trinity and proceeding to the new church in an impressive procession. The work still moved slowly, delays being occasioned by inclement weather, by the difficulty of obtaining cut stone from Ohio, and finally by the "pecuniary embarrassment" of the contractors, Metcalfe & Forbes. At last, however, on June 19, 1853 the structure was ready for services and the congregation was able to move back from Holy Trinity, which had been its temporary home for more than four years. No further work was undertaken on the cathedral until the autumn of 1865 when 35 feet were added to the tower to contain a new $6,000 peal of bells. The tower and spire were not completed until 1873-74 when the transepts and pinnacles were also constructed. The church clock, purchased by a non-sectarian subscription of all the citizens of Toronto, was installed in 1875.

The Great Fire of 1849 naturally brought suggestions for the eradication of the conditions which caused it, and for the improvement of the city in general; but unfortunately little or no action along these lines ensued.

The most obvious need was the installation of a proper water supply for fire fighting. On April 14 the *Patriot* printed an interesting suggestion along this line from Mr. John Thomas, Piano-Forte Maker. After explaining that he had lived in the city for eleven years Mr. Thomas went on the propound his solution:

> Every large store generally requires a warehouse in the rear; and if one of these, about the centre of each block, were built of sufficient strength 10 to 15 feet higher than the houses, having on top a cistern of sufficient size, with taps and hose attached in such a manner as could easily be conveyed to any part of the block, a small steam engine made portable with a pump attached, might be used to fill them in any part of the city, at trifling expense. If the water should become foul it could be let off through the hose to the main sewer, and again filled immediately. Space for a stove must be left, to keep the cistern from freezing, in cold weather.

This ingenious system might have provided a valuable secondary water supply for use when the hydrant system broke down, but the city neither took action to add such a secondary system, nor to install an adequate hydrant system.

Another hazard was the frame construction of many of the buildings. Evidently a committee under the chairmanship of William Thomas was already discussing the revision of the building acts before the fire, and on April 21, 1849 it was able to submit a report covering the suggested wording of the new act. Since a good portion of the centre of the city was about to be rebuilt one would have expected to see prompt action by the City Council, but the ways of municipal bodies can be mysterious and it was not until January 25, 1850, long after rebuilding had been completed apart from the public structures, that a new building act was

passed. Fortunately the insurance offices took more effective action and on May 6, 1849, they jointly printed the following notice in all the newspapers:

> The Late Fire
>
> NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that the companies represented by the undersigned, will not grant any Assurance on Wooden Buildings, (or their Contents) erected within the limits of the late disastrous Fire in this City; or on Brick Buildings (or their Contents) within the same limits, where Wooden Buildings belonging to them shall be erected in the rear.

In view of the obvious need for insurance this firm stand probably had the effect of forcing rebuilding on more substantial lines, and the new building regulations which came into force in 1850 ruled that in future first class construction was necessary throughout the whole of the downtown area. It is probable that during the next few years it was this heavier construction which saved Toronto from further conflagrations in spite of the lack of a reliable water supply.

The most interesting suggestion for the improvement of the city came from William Thomas who wrote the City Council on April 28 recommending that a general arrangement be made under which the second stories of the new shops would be built back three feet from the fronts of the actual stores. This, he felt, would not only give a wider space and consequent better fire protection, but also it would greatly improve the appearance of the street, especially if a continuous cast iron balcony was run along the top of the first storeys. It is unfortunate that the City Council again took no action, for if such a regulation had been adopted at that early date, and later extended as opportunity offered, the city might have been spared the hideous confusion of assorted buildings which line the streets of today.

The rebuilding, as befitted the city's main shopping area, was of an impressive character, however, and must have presented an imposing appearance when new, especially as all the buildings were uniformly constructed with white brick, and usually trimmed in stone. There was also a certain overall uniformity of construction which may still be seen at an extent in the remains of the St. James Buildings—a uniform range to the east of the cathedral—and also in the huge five-storey block which still stands on the north-east corner of King and Jarvis.

The Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society advise that copies of the publication, *Wentworth Historical Society Papers and Records,* Numbers 3 to 11 inclusive, are still available at a price of $2.00 per volume. Numbers 1 and 2 are out of print and the Society would be interested in acquiring copies of these volumes themselves. Copies of the Society's new series, *Wentworth Bygones*, Numbers 1 and 2 are available at $1.00 per volume.

Anyone interested should write or call the Secretary, Miss Mary H. Farmer, care of Hamilton Public Library, Hamilton, Ontario.

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The Ontario Historical Society welcomes into membership the following individuals and organizations, enrolled before November 1st of this year.

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AN EARLY SETTLEMENT ON ST. JOSEPH ISLAND

Introduction by Fred C. Hamil

Some twenty miles long by less than twelve miles at its widest point, St. Joseph Island is a fertile land of farms and villages, lying to the northwest of Drummond Island on the approach from Lake Huron to Sault Ste. Marie. When the British gave up Fort Michilimackinac to the United States in 1796 they established a military post on St. Joseph, designed to guard the route to Lake Superior and retain their influence over the northern Indians. It also served to establish a British claim to St. Joseph, and it ensured its permanent possession by Canada, when Drummond was awarded to the United States. Fort St. Joseph, completed in 1800, was the starting point for the British expedition under Captain Charles Roberts which captured Mackinac in 1812. Two years later an American naval expedition from Detroit destroyed Fort St. Joseph, and it was never rebuilt. When Fort Michilimackinac was handed back to the Americans in 1815 the British constructed a new fort on Drummond Island.

In 1828 Drummond Island itself passed to the United States, and the garrison was removed to Penetanguishene near the head of Georgian Bay. With it went a small guard which had been stationed on St. Joseph Island to protect the magazine and tend the garrison's herd of cattle. That island was now deserted except for a few Indians and French Canadians who made a living by fishing and trapping. The military buildings that remained soon fell into ruin. Seven years passed before an attempt was made to colonize the island—by Major William Kingdom Rains, in association with Archibald Hamilton Scott and Charles Thompson.

Major Rains, born in 1789 in the county of Pembroke, Wales, was a retired officer of the British army who had distinguished himself in the Spanish Peninsular War against Napoleon. He emigrated to Upper Canada in 1830 and settled on the south shore of Lake Simcoe directly north of Toronto, naming his place Sutton Lodge, after his estate in Wales. From this the community of Sutton, Ontario, derives its name. Scott was a retired English naval officer, who lived near Rains on Lake Simcoe. Thompson was a Toronto capitalist who in 1834 completed the building of a steamboat at Penetanguishene. In that same year the partners formed their association for the colonization of St. Joseph Island. "Our proposal is," Rains stated in his petition to Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne, asking for a grant of land on the island, "to settle one hundred families on the Island, and to form a steam communication through Lake Huron, which will eventually bring not only our own productions but those of the whole of the Michigan Territory by the proposed route through Lake Simcoe to Bay of Quinte, and having a force sufficient to curb the vagrant population in that neighborhood."[1]

1. Joseph and Estelle Bayliss, *Historic St. Joseph Island* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1938), 93.

It was just at this time that the old dream of opening a navigable waterway from Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario, by way of Lake Simcoe and the Trent system, seemed about to become a reality. A writer in the *Montreal Gazette* of October 23, 1834, stated the advantages thus:

> Whenever the contemplated improvements upon this river (the Trent) and the Otonabee are completed, and the canal constructed by which it is proposed to unite Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron, we shall then have a safe and expeditious means of communication between the utmost extremes of the two Provinces. Goods may then be shipped at Montreal and conveyed to any part bordering upon Lake Huron, without the necessity of being once disturbed; while the circumstance of a direct line of communication passing through the very heart of the country, will naturally direct emigration thitherward. . . .

The Toronto *Patriot*, on the contrary, viewed the prospect of the Trent canal with alarm, and urged the people of Toronto to further the plan of a railroad from that place to Lake Simcoe. "It will be of the utmost importance to achieve the object," the editor wrote, "for without such facility of transport, the trade of the region of Simcoe will quit us for the inland route, and, what may be hereafter of greatly more importance, the trade of Huron, which will involve a great portion of the trade of Michigan."[2]

By September, 1834, Thompson's new steamboat, the *Penetanguishene*, under the command of Captain Borland, had begun to make daily trips between the town of Penetanguishene and the Indian village of Coldwater. Between this place and the Narrows of Lake Simcoe land transportation by ox teams was available; and from the lower part of Lake Simcoe a road led south to Toronto. A writer reported that the *Penetanguishene* was "neatly built, and though not entirely finished, contains excellent accommodation, there being eight berths in the gentlemens', and seven in the ladies' cabin, with the means of adding more if required."[3]

Lieutenant-Governor Colborne, who was much interested in developing an improved line of communication from Lake Ontario to Lake Huron and Sault Ste. Marie by the Lake Simcoe route, recommended Rains' petition to the Colonial Secretary. A favourable response was received the following spring, and in May, 1835, the partners set out to explore St. Joseph Island. A settlement was begun at the eastern end, at the upper part of an inlet that Major Rains named Milford Haven after the seaside resort near his boyhood home. The settlement itself was called Pembroke, after the county in Wales where he was born. A sawmill was erected and preparations were made for building houses for the settlers who were to come. The few Frenchmen and half-breeds already on the island lived in a small village on the north side of the inlet. Scott operated the mill for a time, and Rains a company store, but they found few purchasers for their lumber and merchandise. The colonizing project, which included the bringing out of settlers from England, failed for lack of

2. Reprinted in *The Montreal Gazette*, October 16, 1834.
3. *Ibid.*, September 23, 1834.

capital. Rains had undertaken to provide most of it and had sold his military commission and his estate in Wales for £30,000, but nearly all of this was lost through unwise speculations on the part of his agent in England. As a result very few settlers were brought in. In 1836 Rains withdrew from active participation in the company, retiring to a farm some ten miles to the westward of Milford Haven, at a place later called Rains' Point. Scott also withdrew to a farm on the opposite side of the bay and married a half-breed Indian woman. When he died some years later his children, under an arrangement made by him, were taken to England and put in school there.

According to an official report made in July, 1839, the settlement at Milford Haven consisted of but ten small houses, eight of them occupied by French Canadians and half-breeds.[4] By this time Thompson was the only one of the partners still active in the company, although he was not living on the island. The store was operated for him by Captain Samuel Peck and a clerk, both of them American. It did an extensive business in fish and maple sugar, which were shipped to Detroit and Chicago in a small schooner owned by the company, and in others hired when needed at the Sault. The steamboat connection with Penetanguishene had been abandoned.

Major Rains was the most striking character associated with the island. He was a cultivated middle-class Englishman, with a cosmopolitan background and a knowledge of several languages. He brought with him to the wilderness a library that contained some of the best literature of his time. He also brought with him from Wales two handsome young sisters, Frances and Eliza Doubleday, refined and well-educated daughters of an attorney of Carmarthenshire, whose mother had died when they were quite young, and who had been sent by their father to an exclusive private school. Soon after his retirement from the army in 1828 Major Rains had secured a Church separation from his wife, but because of the difficulty in obtaining a divorce, which at that time could be done only through a private Act of Parliament, he formed an extra-legal association with Frances Doubleday. A son was born to them in 1829 and was brought by them to Canada the following year.

Mrs. Estelle Bayliss, a granddaughter of Frances Doubleday and Major Rains, has explained the relationship that existed between the Major and the two sisters after their arrival on St. Joseph Island:

> The sisters were devoted to each other, and both loved the same man—the eternal triangle. There was no other man eligible, their equal in culture and birth. But the three, isolated on this lonely frontier, solved the problem harmoniously. The Major formed an alliance with both girls, providing a separate domicile for each. . . . The two families grew up side by side, with the deepest respect and

4. Bayliss, *op. cit.*, 98-101. This report would indicate that only two families had been brought in, or remained there, in addition to those of Rains and Scott, as the French and half-breeds had already been established on the island. The statement in the letter printed below, that forty families were settled on the island in 1836, appears highly exaggerated.

affection for each other. The Major gave his name to his children, and they were proud to bear it, respecting him, and adoring their mother. The ladies seldom went anywhere, being content with their children and books. . . . They were keen, clever, and witty women, and endowed with more than ordinary beauty.[5]

The following letter, reprinted in the *Bytown Gazette* of April 20, 1837, from the New York *Emigrant and Old Countryman*, describes the partners' first trip to the island, and the results of the first year of settlement. It adds many interesting details to the account given in *Historic St. Joseph Island*, by Joseph and Estelle Bayliss (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1938); and in the brief chapter in the same authors' *River of Destiny*: *The Saint Marys* (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1955). It is possible that the author of the letter was either Scott or Rains, for the author was obviously and admittedly a man of superior education and culture, who stated he had studied and travelled extensively in France and Germany. This description seems to fit Major Rains; but the statement that he had married an Indian woman on the island points to Scott. If it was Rains, he may have presented a picture of himself which was actually a composite of the two men, in an effort to conceal his identity. He also disclaims all connection with the original enterprise, except as an observer, for the same reason perhaps, and also to hide a personal interest in attracting emigrants to the place.

St. Josephs, Upper Canada, Nov. 24, 1836

To the Editor of the Emigrant, etc.

Sir, — Knowing that in you emigration has always found a strenuous supporter, and zealous advocate, I am induced to offer you a brief sketch of what perseverance and industry, with the outlay of a small capital, have affected in one of the remotest parts of Upper Canada. The place to which I allude, is the Island of St. Joseph; which if you cast your eye on the map, you will find situated at the North Western extremity of Lake Huron, about 40 miles distant from Saut [*sic*] St. Marie, the outlet of Lake Superior. During the winter of 1834-5, the idea, then deemed wild and extravagant, of colonizing the Island, entered the mind of a British officer, then settled on the shore of Lake Simcoe; he imparted it to a neighbour, a young officer of the Navy, and the two having matured their plans, submitted it to a well known enterprising capitalist of Upper Canada, who readily embraced their views. Immediate application was made to government from whom a favourable answer was received, when it was decided that early in the spring, the three speculators with a few friends, should proceed to explore and survey the newly made purchase. For this purpose a steamboat then building at Penetanguishene, by Mr. Thomson [*sic*], one of the proprietors, was put in requisition; a hardy set of woodsmen were engaged, and all due preparations being made, which would open the way to this new field of enterprise, on the 13th of May, accordingly we embarked, a favourable gale aided the efforts of our huge engine; and we rapidly left behind the beautiful bay of Penetanguishene, and the numerous crowd assembled to witness our departure.

We were the first steamboat that had ventured to thread the difficult and intricate channels of the Northern shore, and no little interest was felt in our success. Twelve miles of our journey were soon accomplished, and we for a few minutes lay by under the group of Christian Islands, to one of which a huge mound of earth and rock, rising in its centre, has given the name of the *Giant's Tomb*. The go ahead! of the

5 *Ibid.*, 104.

captain soon put a period to our rest, and clearing the last of the Islands, we entered upon the wide expanse of Georgian Bay. Onward bore our good ship *the Penetanguishene*, and towards 3 or 4 o'clock we perceived two monstrous conical hills, between which in a narrow channel was our harbour for the night. As we approached countless canoes laden with Indians, came off to view the wonderful fireship (Sette Nabouguan) of the Sagenash, and in token of friendship, gun after gun was fired around us. At last just as evening was setting in, we made our destined port, a beautiful channel deeply wooded on both sides, and scarce wide enough for our puffing boat. We turned a point, and on a broad rock beheld a large assembly of Indians and well dressed Canadians drawn out to receive us. Two or three volleys were fired, and as soon as our lines were fast, they hastened on board, to shake the hands of the adventurers. This was a trading post, the first we had any of us seen, and a few drams amply repaid the Indians for the expenditure of their ammunition. In the evening we were invited to the house of the trader, Mr. Lamarandunt, and danced away to the merry sound of the fiddle, with the gay and lively half-breeds. On the afternoon of the third day, we arrived safe at our destination, and anchored in a most beautiful bay. That night you may be sure, many a cup was quaffed to the success of the enterprise and trio, and in the evening we all landed for a "splorification".

At the head of the bay we found a good sized stream, with pure flats on either side, and following its course for about half a mile, came to some extensive rapids and a most excellent mill site. The land next occupied our attention, and we scattered in different directions throughout the Island. The result of our observations was, that there was much good land, though thickly interspersed with swamp; but a tract was found offering every advantage for settlement, and its immediate survey was decided upon. The axemen were landed, and whilst the steamboat proceeded to the Saut, and to Michilimackinac, they set to work, erected temporary shelters, and commenced clearing.

I accompanied the steamboat to St. Marie, and had I the ready pen of tourist, I could give you a brilliant description of its most beautiful rapids, that come boiling and foaming down for the space of half a mile, while hundreds of frail bark canoes are urged into the very centre of its dashing waves, to scoop out the white fish, which, at that season literally cover the bottom. When we returned to St. Joseph's two shanties were ready, and an opening made in the dense woods which bordered the mill-site. The steamboat then took in her wood, and prepared to depart in quest of mill-wrights, etc. to carry on as rapidly as possible the contemplated works; but I was so delighted with the place, that I determined to remain until the Penetanguishene returned. With her came mill-wrights and a host of settlers, all of the labouring class except Major Rains, one of the proprietors, who left a beautiful farm on Lake Simcoe to settle at St. Joseph's.

The work was begun, the mill soon finished, and in full operation before the winter set in. Pine there was and is in abundance, and the Island now numbers 40 families of settlers with a store. The American schooners have already visited us in search of lumber, which next summer we shall be able to deliver at Chicago, and any part of Lake Huron, a schooner having been procured by the proprietors for the purpose. Nor is lumber the only great advantage which the island commands; its shores abound with fish of every description, white fish and salmon trout especially, within the short space of ¾ of a mile; forty barrels were put up last fall, merely with gill nets, perhaps 20 in number. By this next spring I think I can venture to promise a few thousand barrels to the Buffalo markets. The maple sugar is also made in great abundance, few families of Indians ever making less than 600 cwt. in the season, many 2000 cwt.

Two of the proprietors are settled on the island. A town (Pembroke) has been laid out, which now numbers 8 houses besides scattered settlers. From a mere casual visitor of the island, led by curiosity and totally unconnected with its purchase or

interest. I have also become a settler, and have taken for a wife one of the Aborigenes [*sic*]; and after passing many years in travel in France and Germany, and studying at the Universities of the three countries, shall wind up in the toils and privations of a backwoodsman, a life cradled in luxury, and till now spent in the pleasures of the continent, as happy and contented as any who have been born to the lot I have selected. I have books, the intercourse of one or two friends, and should you deem this short account of St. Joseph's worthy of insertion in the columns of your paper I shall from time to time, take up my pen and tell you how we all get on in this our new El Dorado.

A settler at St. Josephs

A WORD FROM THE EDITOR

As we close another year and another volume of *Ontario History* we can look back on 1961 as a year of achievement. During 1961 it has been possible to enlarge the size of *Ontario History* and increase its interest by the use of more illustrations, two changes which have met with the approval of our readers. Our Society now boasts almost one thousand members, and new memberships are already arriving for 1962. We believe that the Ontario Historical Society is now the largest association of its kind in Canada. Perhaps we can be forgiven for assuming that this growth is a good reflection of public recognition for the work of the Society and its magazine. But let us not rest on our laurels. If the task of preserving and publicizing our province's history is worth while—and we believe it is—let us redouble our efforts to make our Society a strong and effective force. Let every present member recruit one new member in 1962—a personal friend, a school or library board—and our Society will boast two thousand members and several thousand readers of *Ontario History*. For our part we shall strive to maintain the reputation which *Ontario History* has earned over the years as an interesting and valuable quarterly. Will you as members support us by being prompt in paying annual dues to the Secretary-Treasurer and by bringing new members to the Society?

The work of editing *Ontario History* has grown more onerous with each passing year, and the Society's Executive have decided to introduce some changes into the editorial organization to ease the burden of a busy editor. Beginning with this issue of *Ontario History*, Dr. John Moir of Carleton University will become Editor-in-Chief, responsible for collecting manuscripts and news items for the magazine. Dr. Morris Zaslow, now back at the University of Toronto after his year in England, becomes Associate Editor and will supervise the layout and production with the assistance of Mr. Fred Armstrong as copy reader. All correspondence in connection with *Ontario History* should be addressed to Dr. J. S. Moir, Department of History, Carleton University, Ottawa 1, Ontario.

JAMES WALLIS, FOUNDER OF FENELON FALLS AND PIONEER IN THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF PETERBOROUGH

By Hugh M. Wallis

One of the human components that helped shape the characteristic social pattern of modern-day Ontario was the contribution of the British (often Anglo-Irish) gentlemen who took up residence in Upper Canada in the years after Napoleon's fall. Though relatively few, their contributions far outweighed the smallness of their numbers. They brought to Canada not merely their families and their labour and skills, but also considerable amounts of capital, a good deal of business acumen, and extensive administrative experience, all of which they put to good account in founding new settlements and enterprises. Their hunting and soldiering background enabled them to take a leading part in the voluntary militia of the colony while their sense of public duty caused them to gravitate into the magistracy and the local administration, and into colonial politics. They were sincerely interested in promoting the welfare of their national church and gave powerful aid to the efforts of the Church of England or the Church of Scotland in the colony. Although hitherto unaccustomed to performing physical labours and personal services for themselves, in their new environment they often discharged these tasks satisfactorily and even with a sense of pride in their new-found skills.

But it cannot be said they made work an end in itself as did so many pioneers of more humble origins. They brought with them to Upper Canada educational attainments, social graces, canons of taste and a sense of values differing from those of less well educated settlers, and they imparted a colour and diversity that helped to relieve the drab practicality of the pioneer environment. Where their talents allowed they produced literary and artistic works of no inconsiderable merit, and as far as their means permitted they strove to live graciously, built ambitious country houses, and relieved the monotony of everyday life with sportsmanly pursuits like sailing and hunting, travelling and lavish entertainment.

The rugged beauty and scenic grandeur of the valley of the Kawartha Lakes and Otonabee River held a strong appeal for these rather unusual settlers, and appears to have attracted a disproportionate share of them, no doubt since the district was being opened to settlement in the very period in which this type of emigration was at its height. But there was the more practical attraction of the water route and power. As W. A. Langton afterwards explained, "The preference for the Newcastle District was based upon its chain of lakes which gave promise of being a great waterway; and water was still the only means of conveying goods in large quantity."[1] In 1833 John Langton had written, "mill sites are of

1. W. A. Langton, ed. *Early Days in Upper Canada—The Letters of John Langton* (Toronto, The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1926), 11.

course more numerous . . . they have an extent of internal navigation unparalleled in any part of the world, I should think".[2] In that same year, an act was passed by the Legislature of Upper Canada appointing commissioners to receive plans and to execute the works necessary for the improvement of the inland waters of the Newcastle district as part of a canal system connecting Lake Ontario with Georgian Bay.[3] There appeared to be good grounds for optimism on the part of these ambitious settlers.

James Wallis, the subject of this sketch, was born 26 January, 1807, at Glasgow, Scotland, his mother's family home, and brought up at his parents' home "Maryborough", a substantial Georgian house at Glanmire, near the town of Cork, Ireland. James inherited Maryborough and properties of about 14,000 acres in 1828 and did not sell it until 1842, shortly after his marriage.[4] He was descended from Thomas Wallis, of a family long in the South of England, who in 1595 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth purchased lands at Curryglass and Lisnabrin in the Barony of Konnatalloon. The family became large land owners and its properties included Drishane Castle, where Henry Wallis, the father of James, was born.[5]

Anglo-Irish Protestants settled in the heart of Roman Catholic South Ireland, the Wallis family associated with and married others of the same Anglo-Irish stock. They followed the hounds,[6] were good horsemen, sailed and raced off Cork Harbour, were supporters of the Church (and as well they were Free Masons from at least 1667),[7] officers in the army, owners of properties along the Blackwater River famous for its salmon fishing, and as landowners they strove to improve methods of agriculture and to look after the welfare of their tenantry. In a country noted for unrest they were staunch champions of order and stability; in fact the family provided High Sheriffs of County Cork for several generations.[8] One can understand their descendants' attitudes towards and reactions to Upper Canadian radicalism and the rebellion of 1837.

James Wallis' entry to Canadian life was greatly eased by his association with Sydney Bellingham, son of Sir Allan of Castle Bellingham—another old Norman-Irish landowning family—who had himself come to Canada as a lad of sixteen in 1824. After a time in the Peterborough district where he worked one winter for the Hon. T. A. Stewart and afterwards was associated with Peter Robinson, Bellingham entered a merchant's office in Quebec, then decided to commence business for himself as a merchant in Montreal. He returned to Britain and "travelled ex-

2. *Ibid.*, 12.
3. C. D. Howe and J. H. White, *Trent Watershed Survey* (Toronto, The Bryant Press, 1913) 7.
4. James Wallis Records in possession of the author.
5. *Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland*, 4th edition, 737-8, and Wallis Family Records in possession of the author.
6. *Baileys Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, London, Vol. CXI, No. 707, January 1919, 2.
7. Lepper & Crossle, *History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland* (Lodge of Research, C. C. Dublin, 1925), 141-142, 199.
8. *Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland*, 4th edition, 737, and Wallis Family Records.

tensively throughout Ireland, Scotland and England in search of business as an agent for the sale of British goods and the purchase of Canadian produce." His travels took him to Glasgow, where he spent a month and while there "the firm of John McCall and Coy. proposed that I should take as partner their nephew, James Wallis, a good looking young man with a capital of £3,000/0/0."[9] No doubt this capital came through James's mother, Helen McCall, who was the daughter of a Glasgow 'Virginia Lord'—one who made his fortune in the tobacco trade. The McCalls were a very wealthy Scottish family, famous in the commercial history of Glasgow.[10]

James Wallis came to Montreal in 1832, and as partners he and Sydney Bellingham embarked on the export-import business and in real estate. In 1833 they incurred heavy losses through the failure of West Indian merchants to deliver goods for which they had paid £3,000 in advance. Then when they shipped a cargo of Canadian wheat to Liverpool the grain market suffered a heavy decline and the buyers refused to pay.[11] But though they abandoned the export-import business they still worked together in the real estate field, buying and selling land and lending money on mortgages.[12] One such transaction, in 1834, involved a mortgage on 400 acres of land in the township of Harvey, County of Peterborough.[13] In March 1833 James Wallis had purchased 148 acres of land at 10s. per acre in the township of Fenelon[14] (the deed being signed by Peter Robinson, Commissioner for Crown Lands), and during 1835 he purchased 220 acres of farmland in Concession 13, township of Monaghan, Peterborough County,[15] upon which he was to build his home "Merino" in 1851.

No doubt Wallis's interest in the Peterborough district can be traced to his association with Bellingham, who, as we have seen, had spent some time there during the previous decade. And Peterborough was the gateway to Fenelon Falls. Most of the early settlers in the latter village came in by way of Peterborough, then six miles by trail to Bridgenorth on Chemong Lake, and the rest of the way by rowboat or canoe across Chemong, Pigeon and Sturgeon Lakes.

Wallis's connection with the district became all the more complete in 1833-34, when, in partnership with Robert Jameson,[16] he put up a saw

9. Public Archives of Canada, Bellingham Memoirs, 28-35, 75-78.
10. University of Glasgow letter, 27 September 1956 to author.
11. Public Archives of Canada, Bellingham Memoirs, 28-35, 75-78.
12. Thomas, *History of the Counties of Argenteuil and Prescott*, 41. Bellingham later became a prominent citizen of Montreal and a member for Argenteuil of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec.
13. Ontario Archives, James Wallis Papers, Part I, mortgagor Thos. Menzies.
14. Ontario Archives, James Wallis Papers.
15. Registrars Records, Peterborough.
16. Jameson Genealogical papers in possession of the author. Robert Jameson was born 1809, a grandson of the founder in 1780 of the Dublin Whiskey distillers, John Jameson & Sons Ltd., who had married a daughter of the founder of the Scottish whiskey distillers, John Haig & Co. Robert's brother John married his cousin Ann Haig, and his nephew John married Mary, a sister of Field Marshal the Earl Haig. Robert was married first to Eliza Hoare and secondly in 1841 to Agnes Mathie.

mill at Fenelon Falls, laid out the townsite of Fenelon Falls and brought in settlers, including as a friend and helper, Major MacLaren of the Scottish Militia. Wallis at the same time purchased eight or ten thousand acres in the township of Fenelon.

According to the Ontario Domesday Book, Lot 23 in Concession X which includes the Falls itself and the heart of the modern village was patented to the Hon. Duncan Cameron. Lots 25, 29 and 30 Concession XI (north east of the village) were granted to the Earl of Mountcashel, who as it happens was an immediate neighbour of the Wallis family along the Blackwater River in County Cork,[17] and Lots 21, 22 and 24 Con. X, Lots 22 and 23 Con. IX, and Lots 21, 24 and 25 Con. XI (all adjacent to and partly included in the present village) were deeded to James Wallis and Robert Jameson. In 1841, Wallis and Jameson added Cameron's lot to their holding and built a grist mill on the left bank of the falls almost at the modern road bridge. The stones for this mill were brought all the way from Toronto on sleighs in the winter time. In 1851 this first establishment was demolished and separate grist and saw mills were built on the same site.[18]

Thomas Need described the arrival of Wallis' and Jameson's expedition 20th May, 1834, as follows:

> Two boats heavily laden with work people and artisans, passed up the lake [Sturgeon] today, on their way to Cameron's [later Fenelon] Falls, which have been lately purchased by two young adventurers for the site of a saw mill. Sentiment is out of place in this Colony, where for many years to come the ornamental must give place to the profitable . . . but I confess it was not without deep sorrow I learned that in a few weeks one of the loveliest scenes in the province would be destroyed. It had been a great delight, on the long evenings of the last summer, to sail up the Lake in my canoe, and pass a quiet hour or two at the Falls.[19]

Need's regrets were not too strong to prevent his becoming a great friend of James Wallis; in fact he acted as one of the godparents of Wallis' first son, Henry.[20] The locality, indeed, was too valuable to remain unexploited. As Watson Kirkconnell wrote afterwards, "At the south west corner of Cameron Lake its waters issued in a considerable river, thundered down twenty-three feet over a limestone cliff and then boiled and spumed through a rocky gorge to Sturgeon Lake, half a mile distant. The conditions of the day made the banks of this cataract an inevitable millsite and ultimately a village site. . . ."[21] Later that summer, on September 13,

17. J. R. Flanagan, *The Blackwater in Munster* (A. Spottiswoode, London, 1844).
18. Watson Kirkconnell, *Victoria County Centennial History* (Watchman-Warder Press, Lindsay, 1921), 49.
19. Thomas Need, *Six Years in the Bush* (Robert Edis, Huntingdon, 1838), 90.
20. James Wallis Bibie, in possession of author. The other godparents were Anne Langton, and George Dennistoun of Glasgow. Children of this marriage were Henry Alexander; James, who died young; Helen; Margaret, who died young. George Dennistoun married Margaret, a sister of James Wallis. George's brothers Alexander, and Robert, a lifelong friend and associate of James, came to Cameron Lake in 1834. Robert later became County Judge of Peterborough and his grandson Robert Maxwell Dennistoun was a Justice of the Appeal Court of Manitoba.
21. Watson Kirkconnell, *op. cit.*, 49.

1834, Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne visited the area, and according to the Cobourg *Star* of October 7th, 1834,

> With the romantic beauty of the site at the Falls, his Ex. and the whole party was much pleased. It is scarcely too much to anticipate the not too distant period when its claims in this respect will draw many a gay tourist to the spot. Of the natural advantages of the situation, its proprietors, Messrs. Jameson and Wallace [*sic*] are preparing fully to avail themselves, having now in rapid course of execution extensive mills, a large substantial building for a Hotel, etc.

Wallis appears to have been the moving spirit in this joint venture. In 1834 John Langton wrote, "Wallis . . . is quite a first rate person . . . . much more decided person than Jameson . . . ."[22] and again in 1836, "Wallis takes admirably to the country, is very industrious and has made astonishing improvements at the Falls."[23] The partnership with Jameson was dissolved in October 1842 and the latter returned to Ireland; he retained a lien on the lands and herediments conveyed to Wallis, against payment of the balance of purchase price. Following Jameson's death, the final settlement with his heirs was made in July 1853.[24]

Anne Langton sketched the mill at the Falls soon after its construction and also "Maryboro Lodge" (so named after his father's home) Wallis's new house[25] completed in 1837 and still standing in good condition. The sketch shows the shields put up in the angles of each gable marked with the Wallis crest and coat of arms in use by the family for several centuries. The house was of two storeys with ground floor measurements about 50' x 35', was solidly constructed of great squared logs, and the floors and panels were of wide boards. The outside walls were "rough cast" in July 1839.[26] Much later, in 1959, the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario erected a marker there, which was unveiled by the Hon. Leslie M. Frost, Premier of Ontario, and a celebration was held to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the founding of the village of Fenelon Falls. The preservation of the house is now assured, as just recently it was purchased from the Misses Abbott by the Fenelon Falls and District Historical Society for the establishment of a museum which will be of value to the whole community.

The growth of the gristing and the lumbering business at Fenelon Falls called for more hands. The first blacksmith, Jeremiah Twomey, arrived about 1850. In that year Wallis opened up a store and Comstock built a log tavern on a site near the modern locks. There was also a post office, in charge of William Powles, and the Anglican Church and parsonage.[27]

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22. W. A. Langton, ed., *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 72.
23. *Ibid.*, 166.
24. James Wallis Records. (Collected typed and bound extracts from various sources under title "James Wallis 1807-1893" are in Peterborough Public Library and Fenelon Falls and District Historical Society.)
25. Sketch in possession Fenelon Falls Library.
26. Ellen Josephine Philips, *Langton Records* (R. & R. Clark Ltd., Edinburgh, 1904), 150.
27. Watson Kirkconnell, *op. cit.*, 49.

> As late as 1851 there was only a narrow trail through the woods down the modern main street, but Wallis now had it cut out to full road width, floored it with slabs from his lumber mill, and covered the slabs over with gravel. He and Jameson also had the left bank of the river surveyed and plotted into village lots . . . . The village grew steadily by the arrival of tradesmen and mechanics until 1859, when the mill burned down.[28]

The mill property was then sold by Wallis to Sutherland Stayner and lay idle for a long time, to the great detriment of the village.[29]

The present village has woollen, wood turning and furniture plants, a high school, a public library, a weekly newspaper *The Gazette*, and an active Historical Society. There are two hydro-electric power plants by the falls. The population of the village is about 1400, and it is the centre for a larger number of summer cottages on the shores of the beautiful river and Sturgeon, Cameron and other lakes. In the summer of 1960, about three thousand boats passed through the canal locks bypassing the Falls.

Concurrently with the development of the Fenelon Falls mills and townsite, Wallis had mills in Peterborough. In December 1836, eleven years after Adam Scott put up the first mills, Wallis purchased the "Brown Mill Property" consisting of part of Block B Plan 11 Peterborough, being all of lot No. 3 north of Dalhousie and west of Water Sts., and part of Block C being all of lots No. 1 and 2 north of Wolfe and west of Water Sts. He also had a lease of lots 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 of Block E east east of George St. to the Otonabee and north of King St. and bought them in December 1851. These lots were all part of the original Adam Scott "Mill Lease 1818-1829." Block E mentioned above included (or was immediately adjacent to) Adam Scott's original mill site, where the flume from Jackson Park Creek ran into the Otonabee River.[30]

In 1872, Wallis sold his lots in the Brown Mill Property to Robert Dennistoun.[31] On July 23rd 1837, Robert Dennistoun on behalf of James Wallis, had written to Joseph Kelso, Smith Township:

> Sir,—I am instructed by James Wallis, Esquire, to give you notice that he will hold you liable for all and every or any injury that may accrue to his Mill property in the town of Peterborough from the natural flow of the Creek that supplies a water power to the Mill on the said property being impeded by any act of yours that you may either have already done or that you may hereafter cause to have done.
>
> I am your etc.
> Robert Dennistoun.[32]

In 1858 Wallis leased a mill (which presumably he had owned for some time earlier) to E. Peplow. It was "situated on the Otonabee; near the market square, Peterborough. Three runs of stones, manufacturing

28. *Ibid.*, 50.
29. *Ibid.*, 50.
30. Registrars Records, Peterborough.
31. *Ibid.*
32. James Wallis Records.

75 barrels a day."[33] At that time, the market square was near Jackson Park Creek and a short distance west of Lot E mentioned above.

Exactly where were these Wallis mills? Perhaps one was on the piece of property that had been granted to Wallis' former partner, Sydney Bellingham in Peterborough in 1825. In his memoirs Bellingham wrote, " . . . we named what had hitherto been called Scotts Landing as Peterborough and on that occasion, Robinson gave to each of us a town park of ten acres, and a town lot of half an acre. I selected mine at a spot through which the mill stream ran, turning a Scotch sawmill."[34]

Wallis moved about the country a good deal in connection with various enterprises and interests—to Montreal, Fenelon Falls, Peterborough, the United States (to Ohio and Rochester to purchase pork and other commodities), and in various districts of Upper Canada on real estate business. Perhaps one of his least pleasant trips was in March 1840, when he and John Langton "were at Cobourg undergoing together the agreeable operation of tooth pulling."[35]

In January 1839 Wallis and John Langton rented a house in Peterborough and "intend to have nothing more to do with the Hotel. As they expected, some others of the neighbourhood have wished to join in the expense and the advantages, so it has become a sort of backwoods man's club house—there are four rooms and a kitchen . . . ."[36]

However, marriage soon broke up the bachelors' club, for in April of the following year, 1840, James Wallis was married at Kingston by the Rev. Robert Cartwright to Janet Fisher, daughter of Judge Fisher of Adolphustown near Kingston.[37] Her two sisters had already married Wallis' great friends (and fellow Anglo-Irish gentlemen) Thomas and Stafford Kirkpatrick.[38] Janet Fisher was acquainted with the beauties of the Peterborough country. In September 1836 John Langton had escorted her to a deer hunt in his canoe, which "in celebration of such an honour . . . by special permission was christened the 'Janet Fisher.' "This young lady", John Langton went on to say, "occupies so conspicuous a place here, not only because she is in herself a remarkably agreeable person and the best suited to the back woods of any young lady I have seen in Canada. She is however too high game for such as me . . . having a nice fortune of her own."[39]

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33. Directory of the United Counties of Peterborough and Victoria for 1858. Flour and Grist, 64-68. E. C. Guillet, *Valley of the Trent* (Toronto, 1957), 277.

34. Public Archives of Canada, Bellingham Memoirs, 28-35.

35. H. H. Langton, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada* (Clark Irwin & Company, Limited, Toronto, 1950), 146.

36. *Ibid.*, 93.

37. James Wallis Bible.

38. Sons of Alexander Kirkpatrick, High Sheriff of City and County of Dublin. Thomas' son Sir George A. Kirkpatrick became Lieutenant Governor of Ontario in 1882. The latter's son became General Sir George Kirkpatrick, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

39. W. A. Langton ed., *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 177. Langton himself married in 1845, Lydia, the daughter of Rev. James Hartley Dunsford, whose family had come to Sturgeon Lake (near Fenelon Falls) in 1834. His substantial log house "The Beehive" is still in good condition.

The course of Wallis' romance was not without its problems. Anne Langton wrote,

> When at Peterborough, on his way to be married [in Kingston] he saw first in the paper the death of one of his sisters. He wrote off the intelligence to Miss Fisher, omitting to say that he was too much overwhelmed with sorrow to appear as a bridegroom on the appointed day; so the wedding guests assembled and there was no bridegroom! After this awkward circumstance she put him off longer than he wanted; however they were married in the spring, but without the eclat of a surprise. They settled at the Falls for a time, but in a few months went over to Europe, and when they came back, took a house at Peterborough.[40]

In the winter of 1841-42 they occupied the house at Peterborough of Stafford Kirkpatrick who had moved to Kingston. But Wallis continued to use Maryboro Lodge, Fenelon Falls, for many years, particularly in the summer. His daughter, Mary, was born there in 1858.[41] In 1845 the Wallis's rented a house (recently demolished) on the northwest corner of Aylmer and Sherbrooke Streets, Peterborough. By his marriage to Janet there were four children, none of whom married except Helen Sarah who wedded the Rev. Walter Roger.

Politics was both recreation and serious duty with the newcomers, particularly during the troubled 1830's. John Langton described their activities in the 1836 election as follows:

> The old steamer on the Otonabee . . . having been . . . refitted to carry down our voters . . . was starting the next morning for the Rice Lake to tow up two large scows to serve in the same cause; but unfortunately, as the steamer . . . was in debt and the creditor was a leading Radical below, a report was spread that she was to be seized at the Rice Lake and Wallis was requested to take down his crew [of his gig "Calypso"] in her for the double purpose of throwing the bailiff into the lake if he ventured on board and of keeping an eye on the Captain who was too well known as a Radical to be trusted so far alone. We four . . . and Wallis's servant went down in her well armed with shilelaghs . . . and returned without even the satisfaction of meeting a bailiff to duck . . . . We stayed on the ground until all the speeches were over and then rode off to Spoke Island . . . which . . . in honour of the cause, has been named Constitution Island . . . . We spent a very pleasant week altogether, and if our presence was not very useful to the cause (Wallis being the only voter), we certainly added much to the animation of the scene. The beautiful little 'Calypso' with her flags flying and her crew all dressed alike in striped guernsey frocks, white trousers and low straw hats with ribbands, and each a British ensign as a scarf, rowing to and fro from the island and taking out the candidates every morning to address the electors as they came in in the steamboat, was a sight that Rice Lake had never seen before I guess.[42]

As the Peterborough *Examiner* in an obituary notice of 26th May, 1893, was to remark of Wallis, "In politics he was a staunch Conservative and in many a hard-fought contest, devoted his time and energies to the interests of that party." Others of the group made their marks in public life, notably Thomas Kirkpatrick who became mayor of Kingston and

40. Anne Langton, *The Story of Our Family* (Thos. Sowler & Co., Manchester, 1881), 87.
41. James Wallis Bible.
42. W. A. Langton, *op. cit.*, 168.

James Wallis (1807-1893) in Middle Age
Photographed by Ewing & Co., Toronto

Maryboro Lodge, Fenelon Falls, built 1837 by James Wallis, as sketched by Anne Langton in 1839.

was invited to be a candidate for Parliament, and John Langton who represented the Peterborough district in the Legislative Assembly of Canada from 1851 to 1855 and later became the Auditor General of the Dominion of Canada.

Politics in those days led naturally enough to militia service, particularly in December 1837 when Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Bond Head called on the militia to aid in suppressing Mackenzie's rebellion. In less than 24 hours nearly 200 volunteers from Peterborough had started for the frontier.[43] Wallis' "influence greatly assisted in quieting the disturbed state of the public mind." "As a Justice of the Peace he had ample opportunity for putting in practice those qualities of character which are essential to the maintenance of order in a newly settled country."[44] He received a message from Toronto on December 19

> recommending that the whole force of the townships of Fenelon and Verulam being called out to beset two roads into the Lower Province—one about ten miles, the other about forty miles north of Fenelon Falls, by which it was thought Mackenzie might endeavor to escape. Dennistoun was therefore detached with twenty men to occupy these passes, where he would have had to bivouac in the woods with the thermometer at 12° below zero, and John [Langton] was to have relieved him with twenty others on Monday 25th December for a week . . . but . . . intelligence was received that Mackenzie had succeeded in escaping into the United States, so that there was an end to our soldiering for the present.[45]

Wallis was a major and second in command of the 5th Regiment of Durham Militia in July 1839; he became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st Peterborough Battalion on November 10, 1846 and of the 4th Battalion on February 19, 1847.[46]

In common with other residents of the district, Wallis was greatly concerned in securing improved water and road communications. We have already seen him as the owner of the "Calypso", a two-oared gig which he had sent out from Glasgow in 1836, "built solely for speed . . . and she will serve as a model by which our boat builders may improve",[47] as John Langton wrote. In September 1837 a public meeting was held at Peterborough to arrange for a steamboat which was to ply between Mud (Chemong) Lake, to which there was an overland road from Peterborough, to Pigeon, Sturgeon and Scugog lakes. Wallis was chosen Secretary and Treasurer of the organization, and about £1,200 of an estimated £1,500 cost was subscribed.[48] Work was begun but the project appears to have fallen through, perhaps because of the delays in constructing locks be-

43. Thomas W. Poole, *A Sketch of the Early Settlement . . . of Peterborough* (Peterborough Review, 1867), 30.
44. Peterborough *Examiner*, May 1893.
45. H. H. Langton, *op. cit.*, 57.
46. Public Archives of Canada, Record Group 9, Dept. of Militia and Defence, 1776-1922. (Extracts from these Records pertaining to the Fenelon Falls Peterborough areas, have been collected, typed and bound under title "Some Registers of Officers of the Upper Canada Militia 1812-1856" and are in Peterborough Public Library and Fenelon Falls and District Historical Society).
47. W. A. Langton, *op. cit.*, 167.
48. H. H. Langton, *op. cit.*, 48, 49.

tween the lakes. In 1842 Wallis wrote to the Governor's Secretary enclosing a petition from more than sixty property holders in the Upper Kawartha Lakes area asking that a road be built from Port Perry at the southern end of Lake Scugog to Whitby on Lake Ontario.[49] In 1852 he had the *Ogemah* (he was called that by the Indians) built at Fenelon Falls to carry his lumber to Port Perry, whence it was teamed to Whitby,[50] so presumably the 1842 petition had borne fruit. The *Ogemah*, registered at the Port of Port Hope was a round sterned caravel with a fiddle figure head. Its length was 103 feet, breadth in midship 16.7 feet; it had two decks and one mast; it was rigged with a standing bowsprit; it had a burthen of seventy-nine tons and was propelled by steam.[51] Wallis celebrated the launching of the *Ogemah* with a great celebration and banquet at his own expense, for the population of the immediate neighbourhood.[52]

The first master of the caravel was W. C. Church.[53] In the late fifties Wallis was hard pressed financially[54] because of the vagaries of the lumber business and over-investment in long term mortgages, while the Fenelon Falls mill fire in 1859 increased his difficulties. For a time Wallis himself took charge of the running of the *Ogemah*, and thus became known (in some circles) as Capt. Wallis. Later, in 1873, the *Ogemah* was sold to George W. Rose, steamboat captain, and Clement Dawes for $2,700.[55]

Janet Wallis died in 1849, and two years later Wallis was married by the Rev. J. C. Taylor, Rector of St. John's Church, Peterborough, to Louisa, the daughter of Captain Robert Forbes, R.N.[56] She had been brought up in Normandy and came in 1833 with the rest of her family to live in Peterborough. She was described as a "woman of many gifts. Her paintings show her ability . . . but there are a few . . . who can still remember seeing her at the piano as she played her own accompaniments, and her deep, resonant and satisfying voice spread a warm loveliness to anyone within hearing . . . . She had a beautiful voice which had been compared favourably with Jenny Lind's . . . . She gathered about her all the musical talent of the country and often from further off . . . ." Add to this the fact that she was "charitable to the greatest degree, deeply religious and interested in missions to China and India, as well as in the formation of Women Auxiliaries of the Anglican Church" and it becomes readily apparent that she was a very good influence in the community and the district.[57]

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49. Public Archives of Canada, Public Works, I, Vol. 46, March 1842. (Details in E. C. Guillet, *The Valley of the Trent*, 242, 3, 4, 5).
50. Watson Kirkconnell, *op. cit.*, 49.
51. Ontario Archives, James Wallis Papers, Part III, Indenture 28, March 1859.
52. Watson Kirkconnell, *op. cit.*, 49.
53. Ontario Archives, James Wallis Paper, Part III.
54. James Wallis Records, Robert Dennistoun, 23 May 1856, to William G. Mitchell.
55. Ontario Archives, James Wallis Papers.
56. James Wallis Bible and James Wallis Records.
57. Alice Roger Collins, *A Biographical Sketch of Katherine E. Wallis*, (The Review Company, Fort Erie, and Superior Engravers, Hamilton, 1949), 24.

The same year saw the construction of the great house "Merino" on the property in Monaghan Township near Peterborough, which was Wallis' home for the rest of his life. His grand-daughter, Alice (Roger) Collins, who spent much of her youth there, described it:

> Setting out from Peterborough and passing the lodge at the "Merino" gate, one could, in summer, drive nearly the whole length of the quarter-of-a-mile, tree fringed avenue without seeing the house through the trees. Then suddenly—a curve in the driveway—and there it was—a many-gabled and chimney-potted mansion! A 'home of homes' in a setting of beauty!
>
> To the right, as one approached the house, were tennis courts, spread out in green, with a background of trees that skirted the lane leading to the wheat fields. Among the greenery was set a fascinating rustic summer house.[58]

A coloured sketch painted by Katherine E. Wallis when a girl, shows the east side of the house. It was built of fieldstone of a pink hue and greyish cast; floors of hardwood; about 72 ft. in length, 43 ft. wide and 24 feet high. (In 1893 a fire destroyed the south wing; the portion now standing is only two-thirds of the original house.) Merino is now the property of Mr. Bruce Upper.

To the south, separated from the main building by the road entrance to the courtyard, was the farmer's cottage, and beyond that grouped to partly surround the courtyard, were the smokehouse, milk house and barns. All of the buildings were on a hill. Referring to the view from a new home being built on the property, the Peterborough *Examiner* wrote in April 1950: "Miles beyond are the hills of Northumberland, south of Rice Lake, and in the foreground is the bowl of Peterborough, and its valley of the Otonabee River."

In July 1851, too, a Bazaar and Fancy Fair in aid of St. John's Church in Peterborough was held on the grounds of the farm, for which, the advertisement promised, "Omnibuses, Carriages and Cars will be provided, free of charge, and will ply constantly throughout the day for the convenience and accomodation of the visitors."[59] As part of the entertainment besides the sale of "useful and ornamental articles", refreshment "both solids and substantials", the fireworks and the band, Mr. Wallis, "being a practical farmer himself, will be enabled to offer an extensive show of Agricultural Implements for sale, including Ploughs, Harrows, Seed Sowers, and a Thrashing Machine of one Horse Power, besides many specimens of improved stock." An important feature was "a grand ploughing Match . . . on the second day, open to all competitors."

Always interested in farming, Wallis increasingly made agriculture his main interest until eventually his holdings exceeded 700 acres. He had the reputation of being one of the first in Upper Canada to import pedigreed stock, importing and trying to improve the breeding in Durham cattle, black pigs, horses and the Merino sheep after which the house

58. *Ibid.*, 19-20.
59. James Wallis Records.

was named.[60] In June 1865 a nephew in Glasgow reported: "I have just been seeing off a splendid ram for you, he is on board the "Shandon" . . . so in a month or thereby he should be at Montreal . . . . I took a large owner of sheep to see him and he thought him a very valuable animal."[61] Valuable indeed it was; it cost Wallis about £25 delivered in Peterborough, a considerable sum for those days. Expert horseman and huntsman that he was, Wallis kept horses from his earliest days in Canada, importing high bred stock from Ireland. Also from Britain he secured the latest farm implements—ploughs, harrows, seed sowers, threshing machines.

Throughout his life in Canada, Wallis was a notable host and entertainer. In the writings of the literary notables of the region, such as the Langtons, Stricklands, Stewarts, Moodies, Traills and Thomas Need, and in other records, there are innumerable references to his hospitality and visits to the Wallis home by those friends, and others such as the Dunsfords, Dennistouns, Kirkpatricks, Hamiltons and Boyds, as well as those whose business or political activities brought them into contact with Wallis. Again and again there are the entries: "Dinner and dancing", "regatta and ball", "two of Wallis' men were to officiate as flute players", "we enjoyed some sweet music, songs and duets, then dancing . . . till the sun was shining brightly."[62] Mrs. T. A. Stewart describes how in September 1838, "the gentlemen at the Fenelon Hunt were giving a Regatta and Ball and an invitation was sent to Mr., Mrs. and the Misses Stewart—we made up our mind not to go . . . one day, however . . . up rode Mr. Wallis, the head of the entertainers and proprietor of Fenelon Village . . . . They talked in such persuasive terms that at last I gave a sort of conditional consent."[63] When Sir Charles Bagot was arranging to leave Canada he wrote to Wallis asking him to take off his hands his cut glass decanters "as he regarded him as the only one in Canada who knew how to entertain properly."[64] Wallis laughed at that, his family is happy to report.

In 1860 Major-General and Colonel Haultain and their families arrived in Peterborough and became intimate friends of the Wallis'. Miss Clara, daughter of Colonel Haultain, wrote: "Mr. Wallis, known among the neighbouring farmers as the Squire, was a typical Irish gentleman, tall, slight and energetic, an open-air man, a good judge of horses and having a marvelous influence over dogs."[65] Those were the days when transportation was poor and life more leisurely. Visitors stayed for long periods and got to know each other intimately. At Merino they could be enter-

60. *Ibid.* In 1852 he had 7 riding horses insured with Northern N.Y. Livestock Insurance Exchange. At the Fair of 1858 (Peterborough) Wallis exhibited Durham cattle. He imported well bred horses not only into Upper Canada, but also into Virginia, U.S.A.

61. *Ibid.*

62. E. S. Dunlop, ed. *Our Forest Home* (Gazette Printing and Publishing Co., Montreal, 1902), 160.

63. *Ibid.*, 157.

64. James Wallis Records.

65. A short essay, "Memories The Merino of Days Gone By" (Copy in James Wallis Records).

tained with hunting and collecting wildlife specimens and assisting with the mounting, for Wallis was an excellent taxidermist, and the "Beast Room" was lined with glass cases of stuffed birds and animals. There were walks and rides about the estate, the landscaped garden, the orchard and lawns, tennis and other sports for the more active younger guests. And in the evenings impromptu concerts of piano, guitar and song, poetry reading; painting, sculpting, wood carving; dancing, browsing in the large library, or examining the house's many treasures and heirlooms.

Wallis brought out to Canada West many of the family books, silver and other valued articles. They included volumes with the Wallis crest and coat of arms bookplate of his grandfather, Henry Wallis Junr., ranging from eight well-bound volumes of *The Spectator* (1736-37) to Plutarch's *Lives* (1769) and silver with the Wallis crest from 1760 on. There was also a large and varied collection of old pipes; one was a Meerschaum of 1816 with a five-foot cherry stem and amber mouthpiece, with the Wallis crest on the silver cover of the bowl. Another had a porcelain bowl with a miniature of a beautiful lady by a famous Viennese artist. Both of these were given in 1818-19, to James' father, by a Russian prince who visited him for the fox-hunting in Ireland.

James had as early as 1824 made the beginnings of his library with the acquisition of many volumes of Scott, Fielding, Johnson and Miss Edgeworth, and through the years built up a diversified collection of prose, poetry, travel and art. Included was a set of six well bound volumes of poems by John Dryden published in London in 1716, presented to Wallis by Robert Dennistoun.[66] The library was frequented by many of Wallis' friends, some of whom became noted in the literary world.

It was natural enough for the children,[67] brought up in such surroundings to develop artistic leanings of their own. Charles was expert in inlaying wood and exhibited at Vienna, Austria, in 1875,[68] and Adah was very clever with her hands and studied art in London. But Katherine made the artistic life her career, studying in Edinburgh, London and Paris, becoming a Sociétaire of the Salon des Beaux Arts.[69] Some of her poems were published in a book entitled *Chips from the Block*,[70] but sculpture was her great interest. Her works are in leading galleries and homes in the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and Canada, including

66. Books, silver, pipes, etc. still in possession of family.

67. Children of this second marriage were Charles; John who married Gertrude Macdonell, daughter of Lieut.-Col. S. S. Macdonell, Q.C., LL.D., D.C.L., of Windsor, Ont., and a sister of Lieutenant General Sir A. C. Macdonell, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, Croix de Guerre, LL.D.; Louisa who died young; Mary who died aged 24; Katherine; and Adah.

68. Inlaid wood round table top of Wallis crest and coat of arms, still in possession of family.

69. Alice Roger Collins, *op. cit.* Katherine E. Wallis, *Before the West Became the East, Being Reminiscences of the Life of A Canadian Artist* (typed and bound). Copies in Peterborough Public Library and Fenelon Falls and District Historical Society.

70. Katherine E. Wallis, *Chips from the Block* (Exposition Press, New York, 1955).

the National Gallery, Ottawa, and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

Once she wrote concerning Anne Langton, "dear old Aunt Anne—she was a remarkable woman—took up China painting seriously when she was 70 years of age, produced enormously with a quite original style of her own—she and I were good friends and when she was 80 she proposed that we should begin wood carving together."[71] Little did Katherine realize at the time that she herself would be sculpting wood in her ninety-third year.[72]

But life was not all business or social pleasures; it also entailed religious and social responsibilities. And so as early as 1834 we find Langton, Wallis and Dennistoun establishing a church at Fenelon Falls, supplying the land, buildings and financial support, while Wallis himself conducted services until the arrival of a clergyman in 1838.[73] The three friends continued as trustees of the Fenelon Falls Endowment Fund until 1870. From this fund in 1836 they made loans of £200 to St. John's Church, Peterborough, in which they were equally interested, and Wallis and Dennistoun remained lifelong supporters of its labours..[74] As early as 1838 Wallis was a magistrate.[75] He was the founder and first president of the Peterborough Protestant Home, while his wife Louisa was the president of the Peterborough Relief Society, "organized by herself and several ladies who were impressed with the very great need for some systematic distribution of charity".[76] She also gave her support to the work of Dr. Barnardo in bringing out children from the "Old Country" to Canada. Thus in July 1884 she wrote: "Dr. Barnardo comes the following week. I am going to invite him to stay at Merino. . . . He is doing wonderful work for the good of humanity rescuing the waifs and strays." The paternal tradition of the old land remained ever strong. "In the early days" Katherine wrote, "my father and several of his friends of Irish birth and descent, adopted whole families of starving Irish—no sufferers ever appealed in vain were they Canadian, Irish, Indian, or later on, Armenian."[77]

In the financial sphere, James had his ups and downs, as no doubt had many others in the changing conditions of pioneer development. As mentioned earlier, he had difficulties in the late fifties—and again in the late sixties and early seventies he appeared to be "land poor." On the other hand he benefitted from family inheritances. He had since 1842 been enjoying the life rent of a legacy from his Aunt Margaret McCall's estate. In 1872, following the death of his aunt, he became the life bene-

71. Katherine Wallis Records, in possession of author.
72. "The Nativity" in pear tree wood, in custody of the author.
73. W. A. Langton, ed., *op. cit., passim.* James Wallis Records,
74. James Wallis Records; and F. M. Delafosse, *Centenary History of St. John's Church, Peterborough* (The *Review Press*, Peterborough, 1927).
75. Thomas W. Poole, *op. cit.*, 42.
76. Dobbins Data, collation of historical information in Peterborough Public Library.
77. Katherine E. Wallis, *Reminiscences*, 8.

ficiary from the whole of her estate. To the benefit of the community, some $50,000 from this estate was loaned on mortgage to farmers and others in the Peterborough area, many of whose families are still resident there. In 1873, his nephew, J. Guthrie Smith, finally sold James's property "Coombola" in the Barony of Beer and Bantry, where the Wallis family had owned iron mines since before 1700. The property included 7,600 acres and had been inherited in 1828 by James. The sale price was £15,500 and after paying off the mortgages, there was still a substantial sum. As his nephew wrote, "and when the Irish affairs are settled, you should be nearly £600 a year richer than you are at present."[78] He was then sixty-six years of age, had given up active business and was now with the means to enjoy more freely his pleasant home and farming activities. His wife Louisa died in 1887, and his daughters, who had been travelling and studying abroad, devoted themselves to looking after their father.

In his later years, his thoughts went back to his youth in County Cork; his will included "Schedule C—spurs and other remnants of my hunting and yachting."[79] He still treasured his Royal Cork Yacht Club Silk Banner and Signalling flags.[80] He had come to a pioneer community in its earliest days of development, and he and his family gave leadership in many spheres—industry, transportation, agriculture, the church, military, politics, public service, literature and the arts—not only to means of livelihood but also to a good way of life. His earlier upbringing in Ireland and Scotland had a strong influence on what he accomplished here. James Wallis died at Merino, 23rd May 1893, in his eighty-seventh year.

78. Wallis Family Records, James Wallis Records.
79. *Ibid.*
80. James Wallis Records. List of goods burned in Merino fire, 1893.

OAKVILLE LIGHTHOUSE SAVED

Oakville's famous landmark, one of Ontario's older lighthouses—has been permanently preserved. Business firms, interested individuals, and the Town Council provided land, material, and labour to resite and refurbish the historic harbour beacon. The new location is north of the Oakville Yacht Squadron property on Sixteen Mile Creek. The Department of Transport rebuilt the top of the old light.

Toronto's old Queen's Quay Light, once on the waterfront, now a third of a mile inland on Fleet Street near the Prince's Gate, Exhibition Park, has also been declared a permanent historic landmark. It was originally erected to guide ships into the Western Gap of Toronto Harbour. The present Gap is some distance south of the old channel. (Ontario Travel News).

THE MUSEUMS SECTION WORKSHOP, OSHAWA 1961

Specialization being the keynote in professions today, it is not surprising to find the Workshop of the Museums Section of the Ontario Historical Society having for its theme this year just one single subject, "Paper, its Care and Repair".

Oshawa buzzed from October 13th to 15th with museologists eager to learn how to remove dog ears, what perils result from using "scotch tape", and what not to do when faced with problems pertaining to the preservation of books, documents and photographs. The programme was arranged by Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. McGinnis and committee. Mentors of the course were Mr. and Mrs. William Spawn of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, who gave illustrated talks on "The History of Paper", "Equipment for Care and Repair of Paper", "Display Methods" and "Storage Methods", as well as demonstrating repair procedures; Miss Edith Firth, Toronto Public Library, who spoke on "Books, Newspapers and Prints"; and Mr. W. G. Ormsby, Public Archives of Canada, and Mr. Everett Roseborough of the Commercial and Press Photographers Association of Canada, who discussed manuscripts and photographs respectively.

Mrs. Gordon Conant, President of the Oshawa and District Historical Society convened the Workshop, ably assisted by members of the Society. Interesting highlights of the weekend were the tea at Adelaide House, tours of the Henry House and the Jury House (the Bowmanville Museum), and the Annual Dinner at which Dr. Wilfrid Jury was the guest speaker.

Mr. A. D. McFall, President of the Ontario Historical Society, presented the following slate of officers for the year 1961-62: Chairman, Mrs. Gwen Metcalfe, Hamilton; Past Chairman, Miss Kaye McFarland, Napanee; First Vice-chairman, Mr. A. Alan Douglas, Windsor; Second Vice-chairman, Mrs. Betty Hill, London; Recording Secretary, Major J. F. Leys, Almonte; Corresponding Secretary, Miss Mary Farmer, Hamilton; Treasurer, Mr. Leslie R. Gray, London; Newsletter Editor, Mrs. Verna Taylor, Galt; Mailing Convener, Miss Alice Davidson, Toronto; Assistant Mailing Convener, Mr. William Renison, Toronto; Councillors, Miss June Biggar, Toronto, Mr. Jack Herbert, Ottawa, Miss Ruth M. Home, Toronto, Mr. Leon Konarowski, Oshawa, Miss Olive Newcombe, Dundas, Mr. A. W. Taylor, Galt; Royal Ontario Museum Representative, Mrs. Penelope S. Dunbar; and Editor 1961 Workshop Report, Mrs. N. Gower, Oshawa.

—Mrs. Gwen Metcalfe.

ANNUAL REPORTS, 1904-1928

The Secretary wishes to announce that quantities of the Ontario Historical Society's Annual Reports for the years 1904 to 1928 have now come to hand. These may be purchased at the price of $2.00 per annual volume by applying to the Secretary, Miss Edna Ash, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

THE CHELSEA PENSIONERS IN UPPER CANADA

By J. K. Johnson

The history of the Chelsea Pensioners begins with the founding of Chelsea Hospital in 1682 by Charles II,[1] and extends to the present day, for Chelsea Pensioners may still be seen, crusty old men in seventeenth-century uniforms, nursing their pints in the pubs of the old borough of Chelsea. Chelsea Hospital is a military establishment for old or wounded soldiers, and a Chelsea Pensioner is a veteran who, after treatment, is granted a pension by the Board of Commissioners because of disabling wounds acquired in active service. The amount of pension varies with the degree of disability. There are two categories of pensioner, in-pensioners and out-pensioners. As the names imply, an in-pensioner lives in the hospital, being incapable of self-support, but an out-pensioner, after treatment, is allowed to leave, to live as normal a life as his infirmities permit.

After a major war, the number of Chelsea Pensioners naturally increases, and the Napoleonic Wars were no exception. In the period after 1815 the Chelsea Board and the War Office added hundreds of names to their lists, and though nothing was too good for the heroes of Waterloo immediately after the victory, the passage of time brought a lessening of official sympathy. In 1831 a War Office return showed 84,534 Pensioners still on the rolls.[2] It had already occurred to a number of officials that the country's debt of honour might be discharged in some manner which would not prove such a drain upon the Treasury. It is not surprising, considering the time, that one particular proposal for reducing the number of Pensioners would eventually be made. That proposal was emigration.

The story of the emigration scheme which brought the Chelsea Pensioners to Canada begins, as far as official records are concerned, on September 26, 1828. It begins at the War Office, but the actual originator of the scheme remains anonymous. "It has been suggested to me", wrote Sir H. Hardinge, the Secretary at War, to the Colonial Under-Secretary, "that it would be very desirable to make some arrangement, with a view of affording facilities to parishes to assist military pensioners desirous of emigrating with their families, to any of the British colonies."[3] Hardinge had devised a scheme which he wished to draw to the attention of Sir George Murray, then the Colonial Secretary. It was

1. Traditionally at the instigation of Nell Gwynn. The hospital was designed by Sir Christopher Wren.

2. Ontario Archives, *Copies of Despatches and Correspondence Relative to Chelsea Pensioners in Upper and Lower Canada* (May 7 and 15, 1839), 75. This collection (hereafter cited as *Copies of Despatches*) was prepared from Colonial Office and War Office documents in 1839.

3. *Ibid.*, 5, Hardinge to R. W. Hay, September 26, 1828.

not the plan which was finally adopted, but it was probably a better one. It proposed to arrange for the emigration of such Pensioners as wished to go to the colonies through the co-operation of their parishes. The Pensioner, having gained the consent of the Board of Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital and that of his local parish officials, was to be advanced by his parish enough money to take him and his family, if any, to their destination overseas. The parish was to be reimbursed by receiving half of the pension, paid in quarterly payments alternately to the parish and to the Pensioner abroad.

Hardinge was concerned that the Pensioners should understand exactly what was to happen, and that their participation should be strictly voluntary. In the light of later events, his concern has a particular irony. "It is to be understood", he wrote, "that the engagement between the parish and the pensioner shall be so clearly for the advantage of the latter, that on reference to the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital, their approval (which is necessary in all cases) can be given without hesitation, on the ground that the arrangement is beneficial to the pensioner."[4]

Why Hardinge's scheme was not adopted is not clear. It seemed, perhaps, to be too bothersome, requiring more book-keeping and holding no promise of any reduction in expense. In any case, the plan which was ultimately adopted had both the merits of simplicity and of economy. In the spring of 1830 an Act (11 George IV and 1 William IV, c. 41) was passed defining the terms under which Pensioners were to be allowed to emigrate. Now a new formula had been devised, one which promised to save the government money and rid them of the Pensioners. The formula was commutation. The Act provided that any non-commissioned officer or private entitled to a pension from Chelsea Hospital and who wished to emigrate might, on being recommended to the Chelsea Board by the War Office, be paid by the Hospital a sum not exceeding four years' pension as a final gross equivalent or commutation of his pension. Again the origin of the scheme is unknown.

For the War Office and the Chelsea Board it was a grand scheme if it worked. An examination of the per diem pensions paid to those who emigrated to Canada[5] indicates that the average rate was about 9d. a day. A maximum payment of four years pension, therefore, would have cost the Treasury about £53-0-0 a head, a sum which even in 1830 was by no means princely and should have represented a substantial saving over a number of years. The Pensioners, as well, would be out of the United Kingdom, a burden no longer, presumably living useful lives in North America.

The Act which set out the terms of commutation awakened some interest on the part of the Pensioners and their families. By October 1830, the War Office had received sufficient applications to warrant making

4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, 62-68. List of Commuted Pensioners residing in Canada.

further plans. With the co-operation of the Colonial Office a memorandum was drawn up for the information of the Pensioners. During the discussions preceding its publication, it was suggested by the Deputy Secretary at War that it might contain information as to the expenses involved in, and the articles necessary for, emigration and settlement,[6] but Sir George Murray, the Colonial Secretary, considered such information unnecessary—the Pensioners could find out for themselves.[7]

The first "Memorandum for the information of Out-Pensioners desirous of commuting their Pensions with a view to their becoming settlers in the British Colonies"[8] was issued by the War Office on March 1, 1831. It offered non-commissioned officers and soldiers a lump commutation of their pensions and a grant of land—200 acres to sergeants and 100 to privates. Those who did not wish to try farming were invited to apply as well with the option of land, though there was no suggestion of any compensation in lieu of land. The memorandum bristled with warnings and qualifications. The Pensioners were to understand that once they had received their commutation money and their land, if any, they had no further claim whatsoever upon the government. They were warned that they must be in good health, or at least have healthy families, and that they would need adequate funds to establish themselves upon the land and to keep themselves for at least a year. The War Office was to be extremely careful as to age, funds, health, family, and general fitness for emigration, in accepting applicants. The Pensioners had to engage passage on a ship before any commutation money was paid, to ensure that the money was actually used for the purpose intended. From the first, the Pensioners were treated like children, as unworthy of the slightest trust. They were given as much money as was thought fit when they embarked for the colony, and as much as was thought fit when they arrived, with the single stipulation that all of the money owing them must be paid within a year of their settling on their land. Besides routine information such as name, former regiment, age, rate of pension, means, family, intended colony, etc., the application form required the Pensioners to furnish character references and doctors' certificates. Two locations were offered—North America, in Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, or Newfoundland; and Australia, in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, or Western Australia. In August, 1831, a second memorandum was issued, unchanged except in one important respect. Instead of offering free grants of land, the War Office now stated bluntly—"men who wish to become settlers are not to expect free grants of land, as no land will in future be disposed of in the Colonies except by sale".[9]

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6. *Ibid.*, 6, L. Sulivan to H. Twiss, October 11, 1830.
7. *Ibid.*, 7, Hay to Sulivan, October 20, 1830.
8. *Ibid.*, 69.
9. *Ibid.*, 72, Memorandum for the information of Out-Pensioners etc., August 1, 1831.

The scheme was now underway. The Pensioners who had chosen new lives in a new world were ready to set sail. What were they like, these old soldiers about to leave their native land? What did they expect of the future and of Canada? To these questions there are very few answers. Of the individuals themselves almost nothing can be said. They were not the kind of people to leave written records, for the simple reason that most of them could neither read nor write. The only surviving papers relating to the individual Pensioners are petitions, of which there are a great many, and most of these were obviously written by other people. All that can be said about the Pensioners must be gained from statistics or from guesswork. We know that between 1830 and 1839 at least 4,000 Pensioners commuted their pensions,[10] of whom about 3200 went to British America.[11] We know that at least 1000 and probably 1500 of them went to Upper Canada,[12] of whom no more than 654 were still living or could be located in 1839.[13] We know that the majority of the Pensioners were between the ages of forty and fifty when they left England.[14] We know that the pensions they gave up varied from 2s/11d a day, which was unusually high, to 5d a day, which was common.[15] We can guess from their family names that about seventy-five per cent of them were English, about seventeen per cent Irish, and the rest Scottish. Beyond these scant figures, we know nothing.

In May, 1831, Lord Aylmer at Quebec and Sir John Colborne at York were advised of the impending arrival of the Pensioners. Lord Aylmer was asked to give them necessary assistance in proceeding to their destinations[16] and Colborne to take the responsibility for their settlement "in as desirable a situation as circumstances will permit".[17]

As soon as the project passed from the planning stage into actual operation, troubles began. Mrs. Jameson, travelling from London to Port Talbot in 1837, encountered the son of a commuted Pensioner who described to her the ocean crossing. Mrs. Jameson asked:

> "Is your father yet alive?"
>
> "Yes, he has land up in Adelaide."
>
> "Is your mother alive?"
>
> "No; she died of cholera, coming over. You see the cholera broke out in the ship, and fifty-three people died, one after t'other, and were thrown into the sea. My mother died, and they threw her into the sea. And my little sister, only nine months old, died, because there was nobody to take care of her, and they threw her into the sea—poor little thing!"
>
> "Was it not dreadful to see the people dying around you? Did you not feel frightened for yourself?"

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10. *Ibid.*, 76, Chelsea Hospital Return.
11. *Ibid.*, 75, Return of Out-Pensioners allowed to commute their pensions since 1830.
12. *Ibid.*, 11, 13, Aylmer to Goderich, December 17, 1831, and January 9, 1833.
13. *Ibid.*, 46-54, 59-60.
14. *Ibid.*, 76, Chelsea Hospital Return.
15. *Ibid.*, 75, War Office Return.
16. *Ibid.*, 10, Hay to Aylmer, May 28, 1831.
17. *Ibid.*, 10, Hay to Colborne, May 28, 1831.

"Well—I don't know—one got used to it—it was nothing but splash, splash all day long—first one, then another. There was one Martin on board, I remember, with a wife and nine children—one of those as sold his pension: he had fought in Spain with the Duke of Wellington. Well, first his wife died, and they threw her into the sea, and then he died, and they threw him into the sea, and then the children, one after t'other till only two were left alive, the eldest, a girl about thirteen, who had nursed them all, one after another, and seen them die—well, she died, and then there was only the little fellow left.

"And what became of him?"

"He went back, as I heard, in the same ship with the captain."[18]

How many Pensioners and their families died of cholera in the years 1831 and 1832 can only be guessed. Obviously the toll was heavy. Cholera was on the ships; they brought it with them to Quebec and into the settlements. In October 1832, R. J. Routh, the Commissary-General at Quebec, complained that the Pensioners, who were all afflicted with the disease, were infecting his staff through "over-constant communication in heated rooms with the class of men."[19] The cholera epidemic on the boats created continual complications, as families arrived at Quebec fatherless or motherless (and usually penniless) with no means of settling or returning to England or even of proving who they were or to what sum they were entitled. Routh described the case of a certain widow Fairclough whose husband had died at sea. She had no marriage certificate, no death certificate, and an erroneous recollection of the amount of money her husband had already received. She also had a family but no money.[20]

As soon as they reached Canada the hapless Pensioners were beset by afflictions less deadly than cholera, but almost as discouraging. They were subject to the whims of the government which was supposed to care for them, but the government, especially the government in Britain, did not always know what its own whims were. Lack of preparation and planning were evident; confusion, red tape, and stupidity were given free rein. The War Office, for all its stern warnings about the need for funds, physical fitness, and good character, seems to have ignored its own injunctions completely. Evidence abounds that in a majority of cases all these requirements were sadly lacking. Colborne soon began to complain that the Pensioners were proving an embarrassment to the local government. Many were too old or too idle to work and he considered it cruel "to tempt an old soldier, whose careless habits and improvidence are well known, by offering him £40 or £50, instead of his annuity, on which his family depends for support."[21] A. C. Buchanan, the Chief Emigrant Agent at Quebec, wrote that "in many cases . . . the heads of the families are given to drunkeness,"[22] and Lord Aylmer, that "very few

18. A. B. Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838, 3 vols.), II, 163-5.

19. *Copies of Despatches*, 15, Routh to Lieutenant-Colonel Clegg, Military Secretary at Quebec, October 25, 1832.

20. *Ibid.*, 15-16.

21. *Ibid.*, 10, Colborne to Hay, October 27, 1831.

22. *Ibid.*, 11, Buchanan's Report on Emigration.

of the pensioners apply themselves to industrious occupations after their arrival in Canada."[23]

Harrassed by acts of God and their own weaknesses, the Pensioners were further troubled with inefficiency and red tape. The first serious blunder was to send the Pensioners and their papers by different ships and different routes. The Pensioners, taken straight to Quebec, invariably arrived long before the mail, which was sent via Halifax. Commissary-General Routh summed up his difficulties:

> The orders from home for these payments seldom, if ever, reach this country through the post-office, via Halifax, until from a month to six or eight weeks, and sometimes longer, after the arrival of the pensioners.
>
> Many pensioners arrive, particularly from Ireland, whose instruction papers have been withdrawn from them on the first advance.
>
> Some are provided with letters from the War-office, stating the amount advanced at home, and in some instances, these letters have been taken from them.
>
> In many cases they have lost all their papers of every description.
>
> Frequently it occurs, that the rate of pension has been altered, and not corrected in the instruction paper, from a higher to a lower rate.[24]

While waiting for their papers to arrive, the Pensioners became public charges and had to be sustained by the Commissariat at Quebec, though there was no way of knowing whether or not there was actually money due to them, or in what amount. Those who managed to get as far as Upper Canada posed the same problem for Colborne at York. A long waiting period was necessary until identification and authorization for payment arrived.

Neither the Pensioners nor the government ever seem to have had a clear idea of what was taking place. Mrs. Jameson wrote that many of the Pensioners whom she saw did not know what commuting their pensions meant; they thought they were giving up their pensions for four years only and would then receive them again.[25] She also described their problems in dealing with the baffling processes of government. When "it was found that the proper papers had not been forwarded, they were written for to the Chelsea Board, which had to apply to the War Office, which had to apply to the Treasury: The papers, after being bandied about from office to office, from clerk to secretary, from secretary to clerk, were sent, at length, after a lapse of eight or ten months."[26] In 1837 Mrs. Jameson encountered an aged Pensioner from Emily Township to whom the government still owed £13 since he did not know where to apply for it[27]

Sir John Colborne arranged to settle the Pensioners in the Home, London, and Newcastle districts in what are now Middlesex, Simcoe, Victoria, and Peterborough counties. The largest concentrations appear to

23. *Ibid.*, 11, Aylmer to Goderich, August 20, 1832.
24. *Ibid.*, 12, Routh to the Hon. James Stewart, June 25, 1832.
25. Jameson, *op. cit.*, III, 344.
26. *Ibid.*, III, 342.
27. *Ibid.*

have been in Dummer Township in Peterborough County, where 100 were settled in 1831 by Captain Rubidge,[28] and in Medonte Township in Simcoe County, where at least 70 were located.[29] Scattered references place other Pensioners in Emily,[30] Eldon, and Ops[31] Townships in Victoria County, Nottawasaga Township in Simcoe,[32] and Delaware and Adelaide Townships in Middlesex.[33]

The troubles of the Pensioners began in earnest when they had arrived, acquired such money as was due them, and received their grants of land. Mrs. Jameson's chance acquaintance told a story, probably typical, of the hazards of settlement, although perhaps he had been more fortunate than most. The family, he said, was brought from York to Port Stanley by steamer, where they were put ashore to make their own way to their lot, twenty miles inland in Delaware Township. A log house, which had been built for them at government expense, was their only possession; they had neither money nor food, but the father and sons found work on the roads for half a dollar a day and rations.

> "It must have been rather a hard life?" (Mrs. Jameson asked).
>
> "Hard! yes, I believe it was, why many of them couldn't stand it no ways, some died, and then there were the poor children and the women . . . it was very bad for them. Some wouldn't sit down on their land at all, they lost all heart to see everywhere trees, and trees, and nothing beside. And then they didn't know nothing of farming . . . how should they, being soldiers by trade? There was one Jim Grey of father's regiment—he didn't know how to handle his axe, but he could handle his gun well, so he went and shot deer, and sold them to the others; but one day we missed him, and he never came back; and we thought the bears had got him, or maybe he cleared off to Michigan . . . there's no knowing."[34]

The lot of the commuted Pensioner in Upper Canada was soon one of general distress. Life was particularly difficult for those who had been allowed to emigrate in the summer and fall and had no means of support through the winter.[35] With the approach of winter in 1832 Sir John Colborne became concerned for the welfare of these improvident settlers. The truth was that, except in rare cases, or where the Pensioner had a robust family, the majority were simply too old, too weak, too lacking in stamina and perseverance to make settlers of any kind. Mrs. Jameson was told by the Chief of the Commissariat and the Emigrant Agent in Upper Canada that half of the Pensioners who came to Upper Canada

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28. T. W. Poole, *A Sketch of the Early Settlement and Subsequent Progress of the Town of Peterborough and Each Township in the County of Peterborough* (Peterborough: The Peterborough Review, 1867), 167.
29. *Copies of Despatches*, 14, Return of Destitute Commuted Pensioners in the Township of Medonte, 1832.
30. Jameson, *op. cit.*, III, 347.
31. W. Kirkconnell, *Victoria County Centennial History* (Lindsay: Watchman-Warder Press, 1921).
32. *Copies of Despatches*, 35, Hawke to Colonel Rowan, Civil Secretary, March 31, 1835.
33. Jameson, *op. cit.*, II, 163, 167.
34. *Ibid.*, II, 167-8.
35. *Copies of Despatches*, 12, Routh to Stewart, June 25, 1832.

were afflicted in some way . . . "some with one arm, some with one leg, bent with old age or rheumatism, lame, halt, and even, will it be believed, blind!"[36] The theme of the Pensioners' distress runs through all the despatches sent by the Lieutenant-Governors to London during the 1830's. They could not or would not make a success of farming, they could store up no winter provisions and each succeeding winter brought additional suffering and more deaths. In January 1833 Colborne reported that many of the Pensioners could not stay on their land without some sort of assistance, since they had squandered their commutation allowances and had no means of support. He enclosed a list of fifty Pensioners, settled the previous year in Medonte Township, who were in absolute distress and twenty others who had left their lands for lack of means to live.[37] In March he submitted a petition signed by sixty-three Pensioners in the Newcastle District.

> To his Excellency Major-general Sir John Colborne,
> Governor of Upper Canada, K. C. B.
>
> The Petition of the Commuted Pensioners in the Newcastle District,
> Humbly showeth,
>
> That we, the undersigned commuted Pensioners, most humbly pray that your Excellency may be pleased to take our present deplorable and distressed situation into your serious consideration, and that you would be pleased to make known to the Home Government the many deprivations we suffer, in hopes that our gracious Sovreign may be pleased to render to his faithful servants and loyal subjects some aid to relieve them from their present indescribable destitute situation. The greatest part of your petitioners are, from want of means, wounds, and bad health, rendered unfit to provide for their helpless families; and many of their comrades, who have braved all dangers in defence of their king and country, have given themselves up in despair, and died in the woods, monuments of the greatest wretchedness; leaving behind them widows and orphans to pine away in hopeless solitude and want. And whatever step your Excellency may be pleased to take for the relief of your unfortunate petitioners will be remembered with gratitude; and your petitioners, in duty bound, will ever pray that your Excellency may long continue to govern this part of his Majesty's dominions.[38]

The privations of the Pensioners went on. Colborne found in 1835 that those who left their land were collecting in Toronto, "begging in the streets with their children, and inhabiting hovels in the most unhealthy parts of the town; their families suffer severely from the diseases which prevail in the summer, and from the severity of the winter."[39] Sir Francis Bond Head found Pensioners in poverty and distress. The Pensioner, he wrote, "from severe service and hard drinking has not remaining strength to gain in this climate sufficient subsistence."[40] Both Lord Durham and Sir George Arthur noted their pitiful conditions, though Durham believed that the problem was lessening, not because their conditions were improving, but because they were dying in large numbers

36. Jameson, *op. cit.*, III, 342.
37. *Copies of Despatches*, 13, Colborne to Goderich, January 10, 1833.
38. *Ibid.*, 22, Colborne to Goderich, March 26, 1833.
39. *Ibid.*, 33, Colborne to Aberdeen, June 1, 1835.
40. *Ibid.*, 38, Bond Head to Glenelg, May 5, 1837.

from disease and want.[41] Arthur, as late as 1840, described conditions of want among the Pensioners and their families, although many of them were now receiving regular relief of food and clothing.[42]

It would be wrong to leave the impression that all of the Pensioners suffered unduly or that all of them were of bad character. In 1833 Colborne wrote that 400 or 500 of them had successfully established themselves on their lands[43] and in 1835 that those who were healthy, industrious, and sober were doing well.[44] By this time the harsh weeding-out process may have been largely completed. Those who had survived had managed to eke out a living and were no longer a problem. The industrious Pensioners who succeeded passed from the record, and only the troublesome, improvident men remained to plague the community as public charges. Four or five hundred of the Pensioners, by becoming useful citizens, may have vanished into the general population. Some of them even prospered or founded families of long standing. Roger McHugh, a discharged Irish sergeant, who obtained his 200 acres in Ops Township in Victoria County, began a line of politically important McHughs of which one became a Member of Parliament and later Senator in Ottawa, and another a territorial delegate in Minnesota. James Macdonald, a veteran of the Peninsular War, another Pensioner who settled in Ops, lived an active life till the age of 108.[45]

The testimony of A. B. Hawke, the Chief Emigrant Agent in Upper Canada, may be offered as character witness for the Pensioners.

> "During the late disturbances (the Rebellion of 1837), the commuted pensioners capable of bearing arms, without a single exception, came forward in defence of the province; . . . many of them travelled for miles without shoes (their feet being protected only by such old clothing as their circumstances could supply) in the depth of winter, to offer their services. Whatever vices they may possess, they have always shown they are faithful subjects."[46]

The documents relating to the Pensioners reveal a long struggle in which they themselves played no part. It was a conflict in which they were only pawns, whose fate was often decided by unknown men thousands of miles away. The conflict was between the local and the home governments; it was an extended attempt on the part of Colborne, Bond Head, Arthur, Durham, and their aides to convince the government in London that they had made a serious error in dealing with the Pensioners, that they had been wrong, and that redress was necessary. It was by no means easy to carry this view, and it must have seemed to Colborne, Head, and Arthur particularly that they were beating their heads against an un-

41. *Ibid.*, 43, Durham to Glenelg, October 30, 1838.
42. C. O. 42/470/169, Arthur to Russell, March 6, 1840.
43. *Copies of Despatches*, 20, Colborne to Goderich, March 26, 1833.
44. *Ibid.*, 33, Colborne to Aberdeen, June 1, 1835.
45. Kirkconnell, *op. cit.*, 35.
46. *Copies of Despatches*, 42, Hawke to Joseph, May 10, 1838. It is only fair to add Mrs. Jameson's information that some of the commuted pensioners had joined the "Radical set" out of a sense of ill treatment (Jameson, III, 349).

usually thick wall; the Home Government had no apparent intention of revoking its bargain, no matter how disastrous that bargain had proved to be for the Pensioners.

Colborne, Head, Durham, and Arthur, each in his turn recommended that the commuted pensions be restored; that a small pension was the only means of livelihood that the Pensioners knew and understood. In turn their proposals were refused by the War Office, which stuck by its original arrangement. The Pensioners had commuted their pensions and had no further claim upon the government. In this they remained firm.

Yet it was obvious to the lieutenant-governors on the spot that something had to be done for the Pensioners, and that it was essential to persuade someone at home—the Colonial Office, the War Office, the Treasury, or the Chelsea Board—that relief was necessary. Colborne saw immediately that the commutation scheme was a failure and soon after the arrival of the first Pensioners in Upper Canada he began to suggest to the Colonial Office that some alteration of the arrangements be made. He felt that if the pensions could be continued for at least two years after settlement the plan might have a better chance of success, and he pointed out politely that some of the distress of the Pensioners was due to the inordinate delay in receiving their papers.[47] This was a subject which was frequently raised by the officials in Canada; the government by its inefficiency and lack of planning was partly responsible for the failure of the Pensioners. "It is to be regretted," wrote A. C. Buchanan, "that in sending out these pensioners some regulated system had not been previously determined upon: much of the resources of these poor people was completely misspent in delays and uncertainty."[48] Colborne continued to urge the restoration of the pensions, but without success. Some of the Pensioners who arrived in 1832 were given work building roads and shanties as their commutation money had been used up before they left Quebec, but when the work was finished they left the land and went to the towns to beg or to receive charity.[49] From the first it was necessary to give them assistance. A. B. Hawke stated in 1837 that most of the Pensioners had received aid of some kind every year since their arrival, though in many cases without improving their condition, which grew worse instead of better.[50]

In March 1833 Aylmer and Colborne were informed that the experiment was over. The Secretary at War had decided that no more pensions would be commuted, and no more Pensioners, unless they could pay their own way, would emigrate to Canada.[51] Ironically, before he could have received Lord Goderich's despatch, Colborne had written to

47. *Ibid.*, 42, Colborne to Goderich, November 24, 1831.
48. *Ibid.*, 11, Buchanan's Report on Emigration.
49. *Ibid.*, Hawke to Joseph, April 21, 1837.
50. *Ibid.*, 39.
51. *Ibid.*, 20, Goderich to Colborne, March 7, 1833.

Goderich to say that in his opinion the scheme was a failure.[52] It must have been with relief that he learned that it had been abandoned. Unfortunately, the problem of the Pensioners who were already in the province remained. Colborne sent on the petition from the Newcastle Pensioners already mentioned. The reply was short and unequivocal:

> Sir,
>
> With reference to your despatch, No. 18, of the 26 March last, enclosing a petition from some of the pensioners in the Newcastle district, praying for assistance, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Stanley to acquaint you, that as it appears from a communication which has been received from the Sec. at War, that these pensioners have already had all the law allows in commutation of their pensions, no further assistance can be afforded them.[53]

Finally, Colborne acted on his own. He felt that the condition of the Pensioners who had left their land and come to Toronto was a disgrace to the colony and a discredit to the government. He ordered that the worst cases be moved to Penetanguishene, where they were put in charge of the officer of the military post. There were at first seventeen families,[54] totalling sixty-eight persons, a number which had increased to 101 by 1837.[55] The Pensioners were given scanty rations of flour and pork, and log houses. Colborne presented his *fait accompli* to the Colonial Office. His arrangements, he intimated, were only temporary, until he received instructions as to how the government proposed to provide for the Pensioners. He was aware, he wrote, that the Pensioners had no further legal claim, but he cited the strong temptations which the commutation money had put in their way and the disgrace of allowing them to become public nuisances, as reasons for his making their support an official concern[56]

For a change, the appeal fell upon a mildly sympathetic ear. Lord Glenelg, now Colonial Secretary, expressed his approval of Colborne's action. Approval, however, was all he had to offer. He had inquired from the Secretary at War if any funds could be found to relieve the Province of Upper Canada from the expense of maintaining the Pensioners, but had received the old answer. The Pensioners had received all that was legally due to them; it was impossible for His Majesty's Government to contribute further to their support. Glenelg hoped that in time, with a minimum of assistance, the Pensioners would become weaned of their dissipated habits and able to support themselves, and Colborne was authorized to continue his Penetanguishene scheme, at, of course, the smallest possible expense.[57]

When Colborne left Upper Canada in 1836, Sir Francis Bond Head took up the cause. At the same time the local government also became

52. *Ibid.*, 20, Colborne to Goderich, March 26, 1833.
53. *Ibid.*, 25, Hay to Colborne, June 29, 1833.
54. *Ibid.*, Return of Commuted Pensioners forwarded from Toronto to Penetanguishene.
55. *Ibid.*, 39, Hawke to Joseph, April 29, 1837.
56. *Ibid.*, 33-4, Colborne to Aberdeen, June 1, 1835.
57. *Ibid.*, 35-6, Glenelg to Colborne, July 29, 1835.

concerned with the question of the Pensioners. A Joint Address of the Legislative Council and the Assembly was drawn up pointing out that many of the Pensioners were too old or infirm to live without aid, that the commutation money had not been a sufficient recompense for the pensions, and that the Pensioners merited more consideration in view of their long and faithful service to King and Country. The Address asked that the Pensioners be restored to the pension list, adding that, since their numbers were now small, the expense would not be great. Movingly, Sir Francis added his own entire agreement with the request:

> From what I have seen of their distress, and I made it my duty to visit their establishment at Penetanguishene, I can assure your Lordship that if the British Government would generously relinquish the hard, advantageous bargain it made with these brave but improvident veterans, their restored pensions would not be long demanded, as, in all human probability, a few Canadian winters will forever silence all that the three branches of this Legislature now humbly supplicate of his Majesty in favour of these men.[58]

The Joint Address and Bond Head's impassioned despatch awakened some interest in London. Glenelg sent the despatch to the War Office and was informed that if a list of the Pensioners were provided, with full particulars of each case, the Secretary at War would consider whether any relief could be arranged.[59] Head was duly notified, but found the task of making an exact list impossible since the Pensioners had been classed at the public offices under the general category of "discharged soldiers". He wrote again to Glenelg to inform him of this difficulty and repeated his plea for relief. He also sent a report prepared by A. B. Hawke which described the measures taken by the local government since 1832 to assist the Pensioners. Hawke ventured the opinion that the Pensioners were incapable of self-support because of their habits and infirmities and pointed out that the settler in Upper Canada was subjected to far greater privations and physical demands than an English labourer, for whatever his former occupation he had to learn everything anew in the wilderness.[60]

Lord Howick, the Secretary at War, was still unmoved. If no list could be provided, then obviously the pensions could not be renewed. It seemed to Lord Howick, in fact, that the prodigal manner in which relief had been handed out in Upper Canada had contributed to the problems of the Pensioners by encouraging their improvidence and teaching them to rely on the government rather than on their own resources. Lord Howick expressed surprise that the Pensioners who had been sent to Penetanguishene, after three years, were still not contributing to their own welfare, and concluded that relief ought to be extended only in very urgent cases, but only in the smallest possible amounts, so as not to remove the motives to industry. He recommended that an application

58. *Ibid.*, 36-7, Head to Glenelg, October 19, 1836.
59. *Ibid.*, 37, Sulivan to Stephen, January 1837. The Secretary at War was now Lord Howick.
60. *Ibid.*, 38, Head to Glenelg, May 5, 1837.

be made to the Treasury for a moderate sum from the "extraordinaries" of the army.[61] The application was duly made, but without success. The Secretary of the Treasury replied, with regret, that he had "no power by law to make any such grant from army extraordinaries as that proposed by his Lordship."[62] Here the matter rested for the time being. Such relief as was extended to the Pensioners came from the Upper Canada revenue, from the Commissariat,[63] or from sympathetic benefactors. Some of the money, according to Mrs. Jameson, came from the pocket of Sir John Colborne himself, who, as a soldier, felt deeply the sufferings of the Pensioners.[64]

In 1838, in a single scathing despatch, Lord Durham again raised the issue and set plans in motion. Durham's interest had been aroused by a pathetic petition which he had received from a Pensioner named Edward Shuel. Shuel asked for the restoration of his pension on the ground that, while the sole support of a wife and six children, he was incapable of any work since one side of his body was paralyzed from wounds received in the course of twenty-three years' service in the army. In a long letter to Glenelg, Durham lashed out in all directions. The whole scheme, he wrote, had been set in motion without adequate preparation. The Pensioners had received no protection from extortion or temptation when they reached Quebec. They had been ignored and left to find their own way to their lots, or allowed to linger in the towns. Great numbers of them had died of cholera or other diseases, from exposure, or hunger, or debauchery. For these deaths, Durham considered, the government was responsible, since even a small amount of care could have prevented them. He also maintained that Pensioners who were totally unfit for the life of a settler had been indiscriminately allowed to emigrate, though even the most robust were, in fact, unequal to the task. The whole scheme, in other words, had been sheer folly from the beginning. Finally, Durham demanded the restoration of the pensions, because the government, not the Pensioners, had made a serious error. The Pensioners had engaged in the scheme in all trust, assuming that a plan suggested by the government would be to their advantage. They had commuted their pensions in the certain expectation of a better life. Since no such life had been forthcoming, the government had failed to live up to its end of the bargain, and the Pensioners had a perfect right to expect their money back. It was the duty of the government to care for its trusting subjects, whose conditions could only worsen as they grew older and less capable. Three-quarters of the original Pensioners, Durham believed, had already died.

61. *Ibid.*, 40, Sulivan to Stephen, July 5, 1837. It is difficult to follow Howick's reasoning in the case of the Penetanguishene Pensioners. Since they were picked for their age, wounds, and infirmities, it was impossible that their ability to care for themselves would increase.

62. *Ibid.*, 41, A. Y. Spearman (Secretary of the Treasury) to Stephen, August 1, 1837.

63. *Ibid.*, 42, Hawke to Joseph, May 10, 1838.

64. Jameson, *op. cit.*, III, 344.

To restore the pensions of those who remained would be an act of justice and humanity, and only a trifling expense.[65]

Six years after Sir John Colborne wrote his first despatch suggesting the restoration of the pensions, some headway was beginning to be made. As a result of Durham's despatch Glenelg now declared that it was the government's duty to take measures for the relief of the Pensioners.[66] Even Lord Howick agreed that something ought to be done, though he was still completely opposed to the restoration of the pensions.[67] In Upper Canada Sir George Arthur energetically joined the campaign. Hawke, the Emigrant Agent, was ordered to find out how many Chelsea Pensioners were resident in Upper Canada. He found 654. Arthur was as surprised as anyone else to find that there were so many, and feared that they would place an undue burden on the colonial revenue. Like his predecessors, Arthur recommended the immediate restoration of the commuted pensions.[68] To this Lord Howick was, as ever, opposed. Now, however, progress was being made in London. It was decided that, since the Secretary of the Treasury could not see his way clear to spend some of the army's funds, a special grant would have to be voted in Parliament.[69]

The new Colonial Minister, the Marquis of Normanby, wrote to Arthur to inform him that help was finally on the way, although plans were not yet complete. In general, relief was to be granted only in urgent cases so that the Pensioners would not relax in their struggles against age, the elements, and the demon whiskey. No money was ever to be given, only food and clothing or shelter where necessary.[70] At last, in April 1839, Arthur was told that arrangements for relief had been completed. Hawke, who had already done the work of locating the Pensioners, was to take on the task of administering the assistance, for which the supplies were to be furnished by the Commissariat and the Ordnance State Department. For Hawke's guidance, three firm rules were laid down. First, the identity of the Pensioner had to be established beyond a doubt, and his name had to appear on the list prepared by the War Office; second, the claimant had to be actually destitute and unable to support himself or his family; and third, no money, but only such food and clothing as were absolutely necessary, was to be given out. No wine or spirits could be issued except as medical aid, and the amount of rations was not to exceed two-thirds of an ordinary soldier's ration for the men, half of a ration for wives, one-third of a ration for children between seven and fourteen, and one-quarter of a ration for children under seven. Great caution was urged in the distribution of relief and the Pensioners were to be made to understand that the supplies might be cut off at

65. *Copies of Despatches*, 42-4, Durham to Glenelg, October 30, 1838.
66. *Ibid.*, 55, Stephen to Sulivan, December 7, 1838.
67. *Ibid.*, 55, Sulivan to Stephen, January 8, 1839.
68. *Ibid.*, 45, Arthur to Glenelg, December 21, 1838.
69. *Ibid.*, 56, Sulivan to Stephen, January 8, 1839.
70. *Ibid.*, 57, Normanby to Arthur, February 26, 1839.

any time, and that they would be expected to continue their own efforts for survival.[71]

After lengthy bickering, the Home Government had finally acknowledged, at least in part, its original mistake, and its responsibility to its wayward charges. That supplies were issued, and in considerable quantities, is indicated by a despatch in May 1840 in which C. E. Trevelyan, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, authorized an allowance of 20s. per week to a government agent for the distribution of relief to Pensioners at Peterborough.[72] Sir George Arthur continued to press for the renewal of the original pensions. He wrote to Lord John Russell to say that, contrary to instructions, he had approved relief to a number of Pensioners who had served less than seven years in the forces, and to point out some evils in the new assistance scheme. The Pensioners were required to travel to the nearest town, often a distance of thirty or forty miles, to get their provisions, and having received them found it easier to sell the goods for whatever cash they could get, than to carry them back to their homes. The money, as might be expected, was usually spent in the nearest tavern. Arthur had made some calculations, which showed that the cost of the relief scheme was £7716 per year, whereas a pension of 9d. a head would cost the government only £6530 per year, a saving of £1186, and an even greater saving could be effected by a pension of only 6d. a head.[73]

Possibly, by using mathematics where emotion had failed, Arthur had finally discovered the key which could unlock the Treasury. Possibly, also, the presence at the War Office of T. B. Macaulay, who had replaced Howick in September 1839, represented a significant alteration in official attitude. At any rate, a change of heart was soon apparent. The new Governor, C. Poulett Thomson, was advised[74] in April 1840 that pecuniary relief was now to be substituted for relief in kind for all Pensioners who were in actual need. The new regulation, however, was scarcely a bonanza for the Pensioners. They were all to receive a flat rate of 4½d. per day, less than Arthur's money-saving suggestion of 6d. and also less than any of the Pensioners had originally received.

Still, it was obviously better than nothing, and better than the haphazard distribution of food and clothing. Thomson hastened to express his approval of the scheme in a letter to Russell[75] suggesting at the same time that the Penetanguishene group, who had apparently been excluded

71. *Ibid.*, 60-1, Normanby to Arthur, April 6, 1839. There was nothing unusually harsh, for the time, about these provisions. It should be remembered that one of the main aims (and successes) of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was to reduce the demoralization of the poor through the stringent curtailment of relief. That Act also substituted relief in kind for relief in money. The prevailing Benthamite philosophy of "the greatest happiness for the greatest number" sometimes meant great unhappiness for the few.

72. C. O. 42/473/226, Trevelyan to Stephen, May 13, 1840.

73. C. O. 42/470/169, Arthur to Russell, March 6, 1840.

74. Public Archives of Canada, Series Q, 271, Part II, 330

75. Series Q, 271, Part II, 327.

from the new windfall, be allowed an equal share. He enclosed a letter from Arthur, who regretted that the amount was so small, but agreed in principle. Arthur also pressed the case of the Penetanguishene Pensioners, and announced that the faithful Hawke would be asked to make the necessary arrangements for putting the new plan into effect. In August approval was received from the Treasury to place the Pensioners at Penetanguishene on the rolls.[76] After nearly ten years, the Chelsea Pensioners who had commuted in haste and repented at leisure were pensioners once more.

It would be heartening to report that from this point they lived happily ever after, or at least as happily as it was possible to live on 4½d. a day. But truth is sometimes sadder, as well as stranger, than fiction. In 1844 another relapse in official sympathy occurred and a board of officers was established to re-examine the cases of all Pensioners who were receiving the new rate. A surprising number were stricken from the list, on the grounds that they or their families were actually capable of supporting themselves. In many cases this action was justified, though the Pensioners themselves told very different stories. For ten years after this re-examination Pensioners from all over British North America submitted petitions[77] in a variety of handwritings and spellings, addressed to a variety of people: to the Governor-General, to the Commissary-General, to the Queen, and to the Duke of Wellington. All of the petitions asked for the restoration of the 4½d. dole. Almost all of them were refused.

Almost any one of these petitions could be selected to speak for all of the Pensioners. The petition of William Norrish, late of His Majesty's 28th Regiment of Foot, is not only typical, but it is also, to judge from the handwriting and the spelling, pretty clearly his own work. The petition was submitted on October 15, 1846.

> In 1832 I unfortunately commuted my Pension and emegrated to America, through my inabality to persue the hard work in the woods of america, I have underwent a great deal of privation, untill about 1839 there was a provision made for Rations and Beeding etc., of which Bounty I was made a partaker, and afterwards was placed on the commuted pensioners list of 4½d per day which proved a great help to me, untill about 3 years since another Board Sat, when to my great mortification I was struck off the list but for what reason I know not, and in addition to my other privations I had the misfortune to have my house burned and everything I had brought from England with me destroyed which left me in such State of destitution as I have never been able to recover.[78]

During the 1850's the number of 4½d. petitions dwindled, and by 1854 had stopped altogether.

So the story of the Chelsea Pensioners in Upper Canada came undramatically to a close; they passed from the records without apparent

76. *Ibid.*, 332.
77. Series C, *Pensioners*, vols. 496-502.
78. *Ibid.*, vol. 496, 290.

further comment. No doubt some who lived on received their periodic handouts until they joined their less fortunate comrades in unnoticed death. The Pensioners were not important people, they were not even, in most cases, admirable people, but their misfortunes and their helplessness cannot, even now, help but arouse pity and indignation. Their story has no great significance, except perhaps as an example of the evils of remote-control bureaucracy, the callousness that was possible when complacent officials, safe in their comfortable world of correspondence and memoranda, could ignore the protests of the few compassionate men in a far-off land who faced and understood the problem.

BOOK NOTES

As this is the first list of items relating to the history of Ontario to appear on these pages in some time, an attempt has been made to confine it to works published during 1961 so as to avoid undue length. However certain works published in 1960 have been included on the grounds of their importance, as well as a few items of earlier date that bear upon certain specific localities which have only recently come to our attention. The Editor would appreciate the advice of members regarding any works of value that may have been overlooked and welcomes notice of items for inclusion in the next Book Notes section.

Aberdeen, Ishbell, Countess of. *The Canadian journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898.* Edited and with an Introduction by John T. Saywell. (Toronto: Champlain Society. 1960. Pp. lxxxiv, 517, illustrated). This diary, covering the official and social life of the Governor General's wife, is particularly useful for information about life in Ottawa and Toronto, and to a lesser extent in southern Ontario, where the Aberdeens toured, while the Introduction furnishes a valuable survey of Canadian politics of the 1890's.

Allen, Ralph. *Ordeal by Fire.* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited. 1961. Pp. 476. $6.00). This volume is the fifth in the Canadian History Series under the general editorship of Thomas B. Costain and deals with the story of Canada in the crucial years from 1910 to 1945.

Amabel, Township of. *Township of Amabel Centennial 1861-1961.* (Privately published, Pp. 56, map). Contains a brief history of the Township (Co. Bruce), and its communities, as well as a cook book by the Women's Institute.

American Association of Museums. *Museum Directory of the United States and Canada.* Edited by Erwin O. Christensen. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1961. Pp. 567. $7.50). This, the first edition of this work, provides four listings of the various museums under: State or Province, Name, Chief Officers, and Categories. Full details of the museum—date established, address, collections, hours, publications, and special activities—are provided in the first listing. About 125 Ontario museums are mentioned.

Anderson, David D. "The Battle of Fort Stevenson: The Beginning of the End of the War of 1812 in the Northwest." (*Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, XXXIII (2), Spring 1961, 81-90). An account of how Major George Grogan held the fort against Procter's attack in 1813.

Anderson, J. W. *Fur Trader's Story.* (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 245, illustrated, map. $5.00). The author's life and travels in the Canadian north from when he first went there as a Hudson's Bay Company employee in 1910 till the end of World War II.

Anderson, William A. *Angel of Hudson Bay: the true story of Maud Watt.* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin and Company. 1961. Pp. 217, illustrated, map. $4.95). The story of Maud Watt, and her husband James—who was a Hudson's Bay Company factor—their travels in the north, and work to improve the conditions of the Indians at Rupert House on James Bay.

Andrews, Frank. *City I love.* (Toronto: New Line Fraternity. 1961. Pp. 59). A collection of poems about Toronto and its life.

Bauman, R. F. "Ottawa Fleets and Iroquois Frustration" (*Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, XXXIII (1), Winter 1960-61, 7-40). A study of seventeenth century Indian tribal relations in the area of the Great Lakes. The author believes that there was an Ottawa not an Iroquois domination at that period.

Beaverbrook, Lord. *Courage, the Story of Sir James Dunn.* (Fredericton. Brunswick Press. 1961. Pp. 280, illustrated. $3.50). Beaverbrook, an old friend of Sir James Dunn, writes this book from a personal point of view to show Dunn as an individual.

Bloomfield, Paul. *Edward Gibbon Wakefield.* (London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1961. Pp. xi, 378, illustrated. 42/–). This new biography includes chapters covering his work in Canada from when he came with Durham till his final departure in 1843.

Bolz, J. Arnold. *Portage into the Past; by canoe along the Minnesota-Ontario boundary waters.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1960. Pp. 181, illustrated, maps). The narrative, which is preceded by a brief history of the Quetico-Superior canoe country, is the account of a canoe trip from Grand Portage to Rainy Lake along a section of the route taken by voyageurs on the way to the Northwest. By quoting extensively from diaries and historical accounts the author relates this 1958 trip to the voyages of the early travellers in the region.

Bowering, Clifford H. *Service: the Story of the Canadian Legion 1925-1960.* (Ottawa: The Dominion Command. 1960. Pp. 240, illustrated). The official history of the Legion from its founding under the aegis of Earl Haig to the present day.

Brewis, T. N. and others. *Canadian economic policy.* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1961. Pp. xv, 365. $5.50). A review of the Canadian government's economic policy as it has developed in recent years.

Brewster, Winfield. *Pine Bush Genealogy.* (Hespeler: The T. and T. Press Limited. 1961. Pp. 85). Genealogy of the German settler families who came to the Pine Bush, a mile south of Hespeler, in 1850, including historical items on some of the individuals.

Brown, J. A. "North Toronto Union Station" (*Upper Canada Railroad Society Newsletter*, 182, March 1961, 5-9). The story of the station which was built in 1915-16, and abandoned in 1930. It is now an L.C.B.O. store.

Burke, J. H. G. "The Haliburton Country—Land of Promise". (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, LXII (3), March 1961, 106-11). This author is particularly interested in the mineral resources of the area, and discusses past schemes for development and future prospects.

Cadieux, Lorenzo, S.J. *De l'Aviron à l'Avion.* (Documents Historiques Nos. 39-40. Sudbury: La Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario. 1961. Pp. 136). The biography of Father Joseph-Marie Couture, S.J., missionary in northern Ontario and the first Canadian aviator-priest.

du Caillard, F. R. *Les Mines de Nickel de la Région de Sudbury.* (Documents Historiques No. 38. Sudbury: La Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario. 1960. Pp. 26). A discussion of the nickel mines of the Sudbury area, with a brief mention of the other minerals.

Canada. Public Archives of Canada. Manuscript Division. *Preliminary Inventory, Manuscript Group 24: Nineteenth Century Pre-Confederation Papers.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1960. Pp. 114. 50 cents). This is divided into 12 sections covering political, military and religious figures, as well as transportation, exploration, immigration, education, and culture. The largest sections are those relating to political figures, and to immigration and land settlement.

Canada. Public Archives of Canada. Manuscript Division. *Preliminary Inventory, Manuscript Group 28: Records of Post-Confederation Corporate Bodies.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1960. Pp. 38. 50 cents). Includes three groups: Societies and Associations, Financial Institutions, and Business Establishments.

Canadian Annual Review for 1961. Edited by John T. Saywell. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1961. Pp. 401. $15.00).

"The Canadian Street Railway Centenary" (*Canadian Railway Historical Association News Report*, 121, April 1961, 43-46). Some details on the beginnings of the Toronto and Montreal street railway systems, both of which were constructed by Alexander Easton in 1861.

Carrière, Gaston. *Histoire documentaire de la Congrégation des Missionaires Oblats de Marie-Immaculée dans l'Est du Canada.* Tome III. (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1961. Pp. 363. $6.50). This is the third volume of the first part of the work covering the period from 1841 to 1861. It includes the story of the missions in Northern Ontario and the James Bay area during that period.

Carter, DeWitt. *The Welland Canal.* (Port Colborne: Privately printed. 1960. Pp. 117). A collection of articles on the four Welland Canals, with particular reference to their early history, which were originally published in the Port Colborne Citizen.

Charlton, James E. *Standard Catalogue of Canadian Coins, 1962.* (Toronto: Canada Coin Exchange. 1961. Pp. 126, illustrated. $1.25). Catalogue with values and illustrations of the various coins, tokens, and paper money of Canada issued from the French Regime to the present.

Clark, Robert M., editor. *Canadian Issues, Essays in honour of Henry F. Angus.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961. Pp. viii, 371. $7.50). A collection of essays on various modern Canadian political, international, and economic issues.

Community Planning Association of Canada, Ontario Division. *Some aspects of regional planning.* (Toronto: 1961. Pp. 27). A discussion of regional planning with specific respect to Ontario.

Cowan, Helen. *British Emigration to British North America: the First Hundred Years.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1961. Pp. 321, illustrated. $6.95). A revised and enlarged edition of the author's 1928 work, this book covers the emigration from Britain in the period of 1785 to 1850, and includes the flow of the immigrants westward into Upper Canada.

Craven, Edna L. *In the Beginning, The Story of New Liskeard* (Privately published. Pp. 76, illustrated, [1956]). History of New Liskeard with particular attention to the social aspects.

Corbett, E. A. *Sidney Earle Smith.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1961. Pp. 72, illustrated. $2.50). A brief biography of the late President of the University of Toronto, and Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Dalgety, Maude. "Sombra Township Museum" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XVII (1), March 1961, 44-47). The story of how the museum at Sombra Village on Highway 40 was set up in the years 1956-59. It is basically a pioneer museum, but also has a marine room, and a reading room.

Daniher, E. L. and Dunphy, C. R. *Teaching the Social Studies. Geography: History: Citizenship.* (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1961. Pp. xii, 207. $3.25). An analysis of various methods of teaching for Canadian high school teachers.

Denison, Merrill. *The People's Power: The History of Ontario Hydro.* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1960. Pp. viii, 295, illustrated, maps. $7.50). Particularly valuable for the earlier period when Sir Adam Beck was chairman.

Doane, Gilbert J. *The Ebenezer Doane Family.* (Ottawa: The author, 3061 Otterson Drive. Pp. 65. $5.00). A supplement to A. Doane's genealogy of Deacon John Doane and his descendents, published in 1902.

Dobson, Perry. *Beauty for Ashes, Story of the Alma College Amphitheatre.* (St. Thomas: Privately printed. Pp. 9, illustrated). The story of the building of this 800-seat open theatre.

Driver, Harold E. *Indians of North America.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xviii, 668, illustrated, maps. $12.50). A general analysis of North American Indian culture, including Indians of Ontario.

Drury, Ernest C. *The Story of Simcoe County.* (Barrie: Simcoe County Council. 1960. Pp. 28, illustrated, map). This booklet provides general information on Simcoe County of interest and value to residents and tourists. Profusely illustrated with photographs of principal tourist attractions, it also includes a historical sketch and brief descriptions of agriculture and industry in the area.

Eifert, Virginia S. *Louis Jolliet, Explorer of Rivers.* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1961. Pp. xiii, 242, maps). A popular biography of the famous French-Canadian explorer (1645-1700) who followed the Ottawa River - French River fur trade route on the trip to the Mississippi, and who also visited Hudson Bay.

Engelhart, Town of. *Town of Engelhart Semi-Centennial Celebration and Sportsman's Show. 1908 - 1958. Official Historical Souvenir and Programme.* (Engelhart: Semi-Centennial Committee. Pp. 96, illustrated). Contains brief historical sketches of the town and its various activities.

Evans, J. A. S. "Architecture in Guelph" (*The Canadian Forum,* January 1961, 220-21). Comments on Guelph's architectural heritage and the City Council's failure to appreciate its value as shown by their allowing the demolition of the old Customs House.

Falconbridge, John A. "York Pioneer and his times recalled in clubhouse story" (*Second Mile Post,* X (3), September 1961, 1-4). Notes on Allan Maclean Howard and his house on Carlton Street, Toronto (built 1850), which serves at present as the Second Mile Clubhouse for senior citizens.

Firth, Edith, editor. *Early Toronto Newspapers 1793-1867.* (Toronto: Baxter Publishing Company in Co-operation with the Toronto Public Library. 1961. Pp. 31, illustrated. $1.00). A catalogue of the 82 newspapers which appeared in Toronto before Confederation with details of their operations and politics, and illustrations showing their format. Besides being interesting in itself the book is an invaluable reference for anyone doing research in Canadian history of the period.

Fleming, Mrs. David. *A Reminiscence of the Early Days.* (Cobourg: Published by the Oshawa and District Historical Society. 1960. Pp. 16). These reminiscences of Cobourg and district were written by the Mrs. Fleming at the age of 81, and originally published in 1921.

Fleming, Roy F. "St. Lawrence River Pirate" (*Inland Seas,* XVII (1), Spring 1961, 47-51). Story of Bill Johnston, freebooter, who sank the *Sir Robert Peel* in 1838 during the trouble following the Rebellion.

Fowke, Edith, and Alan Mills. *Canada's Story in Song.* (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company. 1960. Pp. x, 230, illustrated. $5.00). A broad selection of songs mainly of folk origin from early to modern times. Historical notes accompany each song, and piano accompaniment is provided.

Fox, W. Sherwood. "When Sir John A. put his foot down" (*Western Ontario Historical Nuggets,* No. 29. University of Western Ontario. 1961. Pp. 13). Discusses the early history and settlement of the Bruce Peninsula.

Gara, Larry. "William Still and the Underground Railroad" (*Pennsylvania History,* XXVIII (1), January 1961, 33-44). A discussion of the work of William Still in the anti-slavery movement, and of his book *The Underground Railroad* (1872).

Graham, Roger. *Arthur Meighen; Volume I, the door of opportunity.* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company. 1960. Pp. ix, 341). Covers the early period of his life until he succeeded Borden as Prime Minister of Canada in 1920.

Goodwin, Craufurd D. W. *Canadian Economic Thought, 1814-1914.* (Durham, N.C.: Durham University Press. 1961. Pp. 214. $6.00). A study of the development of Canadian economic thought and policy with particular references to the foreign influences.

Grant, Rev. A. M. "Seaforth" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XVII (1), March 1961, 48-52). Notes on the early development of Seaforth, with particular reference to the village's religious life.

Greenhill, Ralph, and Gowans, Alan. *The Face of Toronto.* (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. 22 text, plus 58 illustrations. $3.00). A collection of excellent photographs, mostly of architectural subjects, with a commentary by Alan Gowans.

Harris, C. W. "Abraham Groves of Fergus: the First Elective Appendectomy?" (*Canadian Journal of Surgery,* IV, July 1961, 405-10). Dr. Groves made many contributions to medicine and is believed to have been the first to perform an operation for appendicitis based on diagnosis of the condition. A bibliography of his writings is included.

Heyes, Esther. *The Story of Albion.* (Bolton: Bolton Enterprise. 1961. Pp. 168, illustrated. $4.50). History of Albion Township (on the outskirts of Toronto) with particular attention to the social aspects.

Higginson, T. B. *Diaries of Thomas Tweed Higginson.* (London: The Research Publishing Company. 1960. Pp. 91. 2 guineas). The author of the Diary lived in the Hawkesbury-Vankleek Hill region and the entries cover the period from 1844 to 1902. The book lacks any introduction or commentary.

Horne, Alistair. *Canada and the Canadians.* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1961. Pp. ix, 329, illustrated. $5.00). An Englishman's view of modern Canada written principally for the information of prospective emigrants.

"Impressions of Canada West in the 1850s" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XVII (1), March 1961, 1-42). Selections from the letters of Thomas Connon (1832-99), of Elora, to his aunt in Aberdeen during the years 1852-59.

Kallmann, Helmet. *A history of music in Canada, 1534-1914.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 311). Detailed history of Canadian music of all types, including the development of musical activities in the major cities such as Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton, and London.

Kenyon, W. A. "Old Fort Albany Relics" (*Beaver*, Outfit 292, Summer 1961, 21-23). A very brief but well illustrated description of the Ontario Department of Travel and Publicity expedition to Fort Albany (1688-1721) on James Bay. This 1960 expedition was merely a preliminary, and the Department intends to completely excavate the fort.

Kerr, D. G. G., editor. *A Historical Atlas of Canada.* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., Pp. ix, 120). Places maps alongside texts to indicate the ethnic, historical, and political development of the country from prehistoric to modern times.

Kilbourn, William. *The elements combined.* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company. 1960. Pp. xxii, 335). A history of the Steel Company of Canada from its beginnings in Montreal in the middle of the last century through the incorporation in 1910, to the processes and developments of today.

Knowles, Stanley. *The New Party.* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1961. Pp. 136. $3.00). Outlines the history, prospects and objectives of the New Party.

Koke, Richard J. "The Britons who fought on the Canadian Frontier: Uniforms of the War of 1812" (*New York Historical Society Quarterly* XLV (2), April 1961, 141-94). Detailed illustrated descriptions of the uniforms of the various British regiments with short notes on the regiments themselves.

Landon, Fred. *An exile from Canada to Van Diemen's Land, being the story of Elijah Woodman transported overseas for participation in the Upper Canada troubles of 1837-1838.* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company. Pp. 321. $5.00). A well-documented reconstruction of Woodman's life, his trial and subsequent transportation, this work also covers the social background of the Rebellion, and the chief personalities involved.

Landon, Fred. "From Cattle Boat to Passenger Steamer" (*Inland Seas*, XVII (3), Fall 1961, 187-89). Story of the *Campana* which operated in the Great Lakes, largely as a passenger steamer, from 1881 to 1909.

Landon, Fred. "London Memoires" (*Ontario Library Review*, XIV (3), August 1961, 159-60). Dr. Landon's reminiscences of the early days of the London Public Library.

Lee, Thomas E. "New Light on the Battleground of Long Sault" (*Science of Man*, I (4), June 1961, 112-15). In the light of new archaeological evidence the author shows that the battle of 1661 between the Iroquois and Dollard des Ormeaux took place in Ontario not in Quebec.

Lee, Thomas E. "The Ross Earthwork Near Hawkesbury, Ontario" (*Science of Man*, I (1), December 1960, 4-7). Report of the excavation of a rectangular mound at the junction of the Little Rideau and Ottawa Rivers, which the author believes was built by early fur traders as a storehouse.

Mabee, Carleton. *The seaway story.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1961. Pp. xii, 301, illustrated, maps). Account of the construction of the Seaway and the country through which it runs.

Mackay, William A. *The Pickering story.* (Pickering: Township of Pickering Historical Society. 1961. Pp. 237, illustrated. $4.00). Covers the history of the township from the earliest times to the present, beginning with the aboriginal settlement (based on recent work done by the Royal Ontario Museum), and ending with the developments of early 1961.

MacLennan, Hugh. *Seven Rivers of Canada.* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1961. Pp. ix, 170, maps. $5.00). The author discusses seven major Canadian rivers (the St. Lawrence, Ottawa, Red, Saskatchewan, Fraser, St. John and Mackenzie), describing his discovery of them and how they relate us to our past.

Mallory, G. and E. "The Peterborough Petroglyphs" (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, LXII (4), April 1961, 130-35). These 92 petroglyphs, which are located in the Stoney Lake area 35 miles northeast of Peterborough, were discovered in 1954. Anthropologists divide into schools regarding their date, one group placing them as far back as 3,500 years, the other believing that they are only 300 or 400 years old.

Manning, Helen T., and John S. Galbraith. "The Appointment of Francis Bond Head: A New Insight" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XLII (1), March 1961, 50-52). Extracts from the diary of Lord Howick (3rd Earl Grey) show that Head's appointment was not a clerical error. There are still many questions to be answered, but the authors believe that he was chosen on his record as a Poor Law Commissioner.

Masson, L. F. R. *Les bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest; récit de voyages, lettres, et rapports inédits relatifs au Nord-Ouest canadien.* (New York: Antiquarian Press. 2 volumes. $35.00). A facsimile edition of this classic collection of documents concerning the North West Company and the fur trade, first published in 1889-1890.

McTeer, Frances D., and F. C. Warner, editors. "The British attack on Burlington" (*Vermont History*, XXIX (2), April 1961, 82-85). An eyewitness account of the British attack on Burlington, Vt., on July 13, 1813, written by Dr. Daniel Coit.

Miller, Bruce. *History of Tara 1851-1951.* (Tara: Printed by the Tara Leader. [1951]. Pp. 39, illustrated, map). History of the village written in connection with its centennial.

Mitchell, Phyllis. "Strathroy—a town with a plan". (*Ontario Hydro News*, XLVIII (7 and 8), July-August 1961, 20-22). A brief history of public lighting in Strathroy, with some notes on the industries in town in the nineteenth century.

Mitchener, Ralph D. "On Determining the Seniority of Canadian Universities" (*The Dalhousie Review*, XLI (2), Summer 1961, 222-32). The author finds this a difficult task as universities have a tendency to push back their dates of establishment, and there is no agreement on what should be used as the basis for dating: first activities, charter, beginning of instruction, or first degrees. He concludes that seniority depends upon which criterion is used and provides a table showing all four dates for the oldest universities.

Morse, E. W. "The Voyageurs' Highway" (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, LXII (5), LXIII (1) and (2), May, July, and August, 1961, 148-61, 2-17, 64-75). A three-part article discussing the routes of the fur traders, how they developed, and what they have meant to Canada.

Murphy, Rowley W. "Ghosts of the Great Lakes, Part I" (*Inland Seas*, XVII (2), Summer 1961, 88-96). The story of a small ghostly boat seen in the Toronto harbour in 1913, and of a lake steamer seen off the Etobicoke in 1910.

Murphy, Rowley W. "Ghosts of the Great Lakes, Part II" (*Inland Seas*, XVII (3), Fall 1961, 195-201). Stories of the *Minnedosa* of Montreal (1890-1905) the largest Canadian schooner on the Lakes, and J. P. Radenmuller, lighthousekeeper at Toronto from 1808 to 1815 when he was murdered by drunken soldiers.

Ontario. Department of Commerce and Development. Conservation Branch. *North Grey Region Conservation Report, 1961, Summary.* (Toronto: Queen's Printer. 1961. Pp. 127, illustrated). This summary of the larger report presented to the regional Conservation Authority in 1959 contains a historical section dealing with Indians and the French, Surveys and Early Settlement, Roads and Railways, Mills and Agriculture, and the Owen Sound and Meaford communities.

Ontario. Department of Commerce and Development. Conservation Branch. *Spencer Creek Conservation Report, 1960.* (Toronto: Queen's Printer. 1960). Unlike earlier reports this one does not contain an historical section.

Ontario. Department of Commerce and Development. Conservation Branch. *Twelve Mile Creek Conservation Report, 1960.* (Toronto: Queen's Printer. 1960). Does not contain an historical section.

Ontario. Department of Lands and Forests. *Sibbald Memorial Museum—Sibbald Point Provincial Park.* (Pp. 8, [1961]). Genealogy of the Sibbald family and notes on their home, Eildon Hall, near Sutton.

Ontario Catholic Directory, 1961. (Toronto: Published by Newman Foundation of Toronto. 1961. Pp. 168, illustrated).

Ontario Society of Artists. *Annual Report for the Year ending February 28th., 1961.*

Paint, H. M. "Financing the Welland Canal" (*The Canadian Banker*, LXIII (2), Summer 1961, 59-68). The story of William H. Merritt and the Welland Canal financing in the 1820's and 1830's.

Payzant, Marion M. *A Scrapbook with Notes on the Payzant and Allied Jess and Juhan Families in North America.* (M. M. Payzant. 1961. 3 volumes, mimeographed). Genealogy of these families with various documents and notes.

Phelps, Edward, editor. "Recollections of Rev. Leonard Bartlett" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XVII (2), March 1961, 69-88). Recol-

lections of Rev. L. Bartlett, who is now in his 90th year, edited and with notes by Mr. Phelps.

Phelps, Edward. "The St. Clair Mission Register 1838-64. Part I" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XVII (2), March 1961, 92-114). Comments on the St. Clair Mission to the Chippewa at present-day Sarnia, and publishes the baptismal register with notes.

Philips, Paul C. *The fur trade.* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. 2 vols. 1961. Pp. xxvi, 696, illustrated, maps. $16.50). History of the fur trade in North America up till the middle of the last century.

Potter, G. R. L. "The Royal Canadian Mint" (*The Canadian Banker.* LXVIII (1), Spring 1961, 36-49). Comments on the history of the mint (established 1908) and how the Canadian coinage is struck.

Price, Mrs. Carr and Clyde C. Kennedy, compilers. *Notes on the History of Renfrew County.* (Pembroke: Renfrew County Council for the Centennial 1961. Pp. 176, illustrated). A profusely-illustrated review of the county from prehistoric times to the present, from Indian archaeology, Champlain, the fur trade, to Nuclear Power and the Petawawa Military Camp. Interesting "asides" on Ottawa valley speech, the Camboose shanty, museums, etc.

Reynolds, Nilo. "In Quest of Yesterday: A History of Haliburton" (*Haliburton County Echo*, July 7, 1960—April 27, 1961, 41 instalments). A history of the county, its settlers and villages.

Richmond, John, editor. *A tearful tour of Toronto's Riviera of yesteryear.* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1961. $7.50). A collection, with text, of some 31 photographs of Toronto Harbour and Island taken about 1908 by William James Sr., plus some modern drawings by Lorraine Surcouf.

Rossier, Henri and Pierre Berton. *The new city; a prejudiced view of Toronto.* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1961. Pp. 135, illustrated. $7.50). A selection of pictures taken of the city, its life and work, by Henri Rossier, together with a text by Pierre Berton.

Rutherford, Audrey M., editor. *Grey County Centennial 1852-1952.* (Printed by the Hanover Post Press. 1952. Pp. 47). Contains a brief history of the townships and municipalities, and lists the officials of the county, and of Owen Sound.

St. Mark's Church; Hamilton 1878-1958. (Pp. 4) Pamphlet with short history of the church and list of rectors.

Sawdon, Herbert H. *The Woodbridge Story.* (Privately published. Pp. 177, illustrated). Historical sketches of the Woodbridge area with many lists of the various types of inhabitants.

Shutt, Greta M. *The High Schools of Guelph.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Available through Guelph Board of Education Office, 385 Woolwich St., Guelph. 1961. Illustrated. $3.25). A history of the Guelph High School system from its one-room beginning to the present day.

Shaw, J. G. *Saints Lived Here.* (Toronto: 1960. Pp. 56). The story of Martyrs' Shrine, Midland, including the lives of the martyrs.

"Street Railway List: 1889" (*Canadian Railway Historical Association News Report*, 125, September 1961, 111-14). Details of the 24 Canadian street railways which were operating in 1889, taken from *Poor's Manual* for 1890, the first year in which it carried the details on this type of operation.

Thorman, George E. "An Early Map of James Bay" (*Beaver*, Outfit 291, Spring 1961, 18-23). Discusses the Thomas Moore map of c. 1678 which is in the British Museum.

"Upper Canada Village Relives History" (*Echoes*, 243, Summer 1961, 8-9, 25). Comments on some of the sights to be seen at the Village.

Wallace, W. S. *The Knight of Dundurn.* (Toronto: Rous and Mann Press. 1960. Pp. 22, illustrated). Discussions of the problems involved in interpreting the career of Sir Allan MacNab.

Way, Beryl W. "Upper Canada Village" (*Canadian Geographical Journal,* LXII (6), June 1961, 218-233). Story of the development of the Upper Canada Village project, and some of the problems involved in restoring the buildings.

Way, Ronald L. "The Day of Chrysler's Farm" (*Canadian Geographical Journal,* LXII (6), June 1961, 184-217). A companion article to Beryl Way's story of Upper Canada Village, this is an account of the battle which took place in 1813. Like the other article it is accompanied by excellent maps and illustrations.

Waterford-Townsend Old Timers' Reunion 1878-1960. Contains some notes on the history of the Town of Waterford, and the Township of Townsend, and their main buildings.

Westland, Stuart I. "The Toronto Street Railway Centenary" (*Upper Canada Railroad Society Newsletter*, 188, September 1961, 1-5). Some comments on the different phases of the Toronto Transit Commission's operations from 1861 to the present.

Willey, R. C. "Coins of the Province of Canada" (*Canadian Numismatic Journal,* VI (10), October 1961, 414-21). Covers the tokens of the Province and the beginnings of the decimal coinage.

Willey, R. C. "Coins of Upper Canada" (*Canadian Numismatic Journal,* VI (9), September 1961, 367-376). Part of the author's survey of the coins of Canada, this article covers the tokens of Upper Canada to 1841.

Williams, W. R. "Killarney Harbour" (*Inland Seas*, XVII (1), Spring 1961, 52-55). Notes on the village of Killarney (Manitoulin District).

Willoughby, William R. *The St. Lawrence Waterway, A Study in politics and diplomacy.* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 381, illustrated). A scholarly study of the efforts from 1700 to the present to improve the navigation of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway, particular emphasis being paid to the many, intricate negotiations relative to construction during the years since 1920.

Woolworth, Alan R. "In search of the past on the Voyageurs' Highway" (*Beaver*, Outfit 291, Spring 1961, 26-9). Describes the finding of a group of 17 traders' kettles dating from c. 1778-1803 at Saganaga Lake, on the Ontario-Michigan border.

Wright, Don. "Current Antiques" (*Ontario Hydro News*, XLVIII (3), March 1961, 5-7). Description of the collection of old electric equipment and fixtures belonging to Heinz Peper of Waterloo. The equipment, all of which is in working condition, varies from light bulbs to an eight-ton condenser, and provides a picture of the development of electrical science from the 1880s to today.

Worthington, Larry. *"Worthy", a biography of Major General Worthington, C.B.C., M.C., M.M.* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1961. Pp. 236. $5.00). A biography of the general by his wife.

THE HERITAGE OF FRANCE

On Wednesday, November 8, 1961, the Ontario Historical Society sponsored one of the programmes in the series of lectures "The Heritage of France" which is being offered this winter at the Toronto Art Gallery in connection with an exhibition of French art which the Gallery will be presenting early in the New Year.

The Society's programme consisted of an address on the subject "The Jesuits in Early Canada" by Rev. Jacques Monet, S.J., in place of the Rev. D. Hegarty, S.J., the intended speaker of the evening who was unable to be present. Father Monet described the contrasting personalities of several notable early missionaries but indicated also the many qualities they possessed in common—their practicality, organizing skill, concern for education, their zeal and unswerving devotion to their faith, their contrasting moods of ascetic self-denial and visionary exultation. These qualities they inherited in large measure through being children of the Catholic Revival of seventeenth century France, and this spirit they imparted to early Canada, together with such material benefits as educational institutions, patronage of the arts, and the goodwill and interest of wealthy French patrons. Following Father Monet's most interesting and inspiring address, Professor Careless thanked the speaker on behalf of the Ontario Historical Society.

CANADIAN MUSEUMS ASSOCIATION TRAINING COURSE

The Training Course of the Canadian Museums Association for 1961 was held from November 13th to 20th at the Black Creek Village, the pioneer community being developed at Steele's and Jane Avenues, Toronto, by the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority. Mr. J. D. Herbert, Secretary of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, acted as Course Co-ordinator, and Mr. James Gooding, Museums Adviser, the Department of Travel and Publicity, Toronto, as Course Designer.

The sessions, which except for one day at the Royal Ontario Museum were all held at Black Creek Village, were devoted to the subjects of handling museum materials and museum methodology. The twenty-four members in attendance—representing eight of Canada's provinces—received instruction from such specialists as Elizabeth Phillimore on Conservation, Harold Burnham on Textiles, William Todd and James Gooding on Paper and Leather, Dorothea Hecken on Cataloguing and Robert Hume on Packing and Handling. During their visit to Toronto the officers and members of the course were tendered a coffee party by the Ontario Historical Society and a luncheon by the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority, and they were the guests at a banquet given in their honour by the Department of Travel and Publicity.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. Fred Armstrong, whose study of the Great Fire of 1849 is concluded in this issue, is a graduate student in History at the University of Toronto.

Dr. Fred C. Hamil is Professor of History at Wayne State University, Detroit, and author of *The Valley of the Lower Thames, 1640 to 1850*, and of *Lake Erie Baron*, a biography of Thomas Talbot.

Colonel Hugh M. Wallis, D.S.O., O.B.E., of Senneville, P.Q., participated with distinction in two World Wars and has also devoted a long, fruitful career to aiding philanthropic, cultural and artistic endeavours in Canada. He has served as President of the Canadian Citizenship Council and of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, and as Governor of the Montreal General Hospital and the Montreal Children's Hospital. He has been interested for some time in the movement to establish a National Trust for Canada and recently as Chairman of the Provisional Executive of the Canadian Centenary (1967) Council has helped initiate the preparations for celebrating Canada's hundredth anniversary.

J. K. Johnson, M.A., is a graduate of the University of Toronto in History now on the staff of the Public Archives of Canada. His paper was prepared while he was a member of the graduate seminar in Ontario History offered at the University of Toronto.

NEWS FROM STANLEY BARRACKS

During the summer a historical committee of the Underwater Club of Canada was established to organize and promote dives in the Great Lakes along the old trade routes and in areas known to be the scene of early naval battles. Material found will supplement what has already been recovered from sunken ships.

It has been arranged, in conjunction with the Toronto Historical Board, to establish several rooms in the Marine Museum of Upper Canada, the initial one to be known as the "War of 1812" Room, which will display many interesting objects from ships which took part in the naval battles on the Great Lakes during the War of 1812, and will include models of fully-dressed British sailors of the period, and two dioramas depicting the major naval battles.

The Marine Museum, on the first floor of Stanley Barracks, tells the story of the development of Central Canada through the inland waterways from early fur trading and exploration days to the building of the St. Lawrence Seaway and is considered by many to be the finest museum of its kind in Canada. Expansion of the museum to include the second floor is currently in progress. Both the Underwater Club "War of 1812" Room and the "Toronto Room" will be on this level.

ONTARIO HISTORY

PAPERS & RECORDS

VOLUME LIII

1961

ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. LIII MARCH No. 1.

Page

The History and Development of Early Forms of Building Construction in Ontario—Part II
By John I. Rempel 1

The Fenian Invasion of Canada West, June 1st and 2nd, 1866
By F. M. Quealey, C.S.B. 37

The Early History of Canadian Oil Companies: A Chapter in Canadian Business History
By John T. Saywell 67

Presentation of Canadian Historical Association Award 36

News Notes 36

VOL. LIII JUNE No. 2.

The Fat Years and the Lean
London (Canada) in Boom and Depression, 1851-61
By Orlo Miller 73

Rendezvous At Moose Factory, 1882
Introduction and Notes by Morris Zaslow 81

The Organization of Upper Canada Reformers, 1818-1867
By Eric Jackson 95

British Views of Colonial Upper Canada, 1791-1841
By D. W. L. Earl 117

New Members 116

Our Contributors 136

Report of the Historical Branch, Department of Travel and Publicity, for 1960
By D. F. McOuat, Director 137

News Notes and Financial Statements 145

VOL. LIII SEPTEMBER No. 3.

The Museums Section, An Account of Its Beginnings
By Dorothy Drever 153

Museums of Ontario, A Directory
Compiled by Alice Davidson 156

The Museum as a Social Instrument
By Dr. Carl E. Guthe 169

The National Trust in Great Britain
By R. Romilly Fedden 174

A Master Plan to Prepare for Canada's Centenary
By Ruth M. Home 177

Tools for Voluntary Education
By the Hon. A. E. Blakeney 181

The Object of the Museum
By Ruth M. Home 187

The Proudfoot Papers, a New Source of Research Material 191

The Royal Ontario Museum, 1912-1962
By Duncan F. Cameron 193

Ontario Provincial Parks Museums
By A. B. Wheatley 197

The First Great Fire of Toronto, 1849
By F. H. Armstrong 201

The Annual Meeting—June 15, 16, and 17, 1961 222

Notes and Reports 168, 173, 185-6, 199-200, 221

VOL. LIII DECEMBER No. 4.

The Rebuilding of Toronto after the Great Fire of 1849
By F. H. Armstrong 233

An Early Settlement on St. Joseph Island
Introduction by Fred C. Hamil 251

James Wallis, Founder of Fenelon Falls and Pioneer
in the Early Development of Peterborough
By Hugh M. Wallis 257

The Chelsea Pensioners in Upper Canada
By J. K. Johnson 273

Book Notes 289

News and Reports 249, 250, 256, 271-2, 299-300

THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Ontario Historical Society was organized on September 4, 1888 under the title of 'The Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario' and adopted its present name in 1898. Its object is to develop the study of history, particularly that of Ontario.

Beginning in 1899 a volume of *Papers & Records* has been published nearly every year. These volumes, I to XXXIX, contain a vast amount of information about the history of the Province. Several volumes now are out of print, but the rest are available at $4 per cloth-bound volume and $2 for those with paper covers. In 1947 the name of the publication was changed to *Ontario History* and since the beginning of 1949 it has appeared in quarterly form. *Ontario History* is sent free to all members, and issues of previous years are available at $1 per number or $3 per volume of four issues. Several special volumes of documentary material also are available, including the first four volumes of the Ontario Local Histories Series, "The Valley of the Trent" by E. C. Guillet; "Royal Fort Frontenac" by R. A. Preston and L. Lamontagne; "Kingston Before the War of 1812" by R. A. Preston; "The Windsor Border Region" by E. J. Lajeunesse, C.S.B.—each $3.50 to members.

General meetings of the Society have been held annually in various centres in the province. These meetings have enabled members to meet with others who are particularly interested in local provincial history, and to visit many of the historic spots in Ontario.

The several classes of membership are: corporate, $3 a year, sustaining $10 a year, family $5, and annual, $3. Life memberships are $50. Membership is open to all societies and individuals interested in the history of Ontario. Fees should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

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